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This endogamic principle will be described in greater detail in vol. I, chap. VII, but mention of it here has been necessary to explain the composition of the ancestral family.

In recent years there has been a tendency for some men to marry foreign women in order that they, or their children, might obtain new prerogatives. Thus a trend towards exogamy has arisen from the same reason which is supposed to have caused endogamy. The offspring of such marriages cannot enjoy the feeling of strength and comfort that comes from the membership of both parents in the same ancestral family, but some individuals have felt that this was offset by the gain of highly desirable foreign prerogatives. It is said that this practice was initiated by a certain *Pusku*, father of a man about sixty years old in 1923. White influence probably had nothing to do with this radical innovation, although its wide adoption has been made more easy by the establishment of peaceful conditions on the coast.

Strong as is the belief in a common ancestry, it is unlikely that this would have sufficed to hold together the members of the ancestral family, without some definite prerogatives. These are of two kinds: names and land.

NAMES

The fundamental principle governing Bella Coola nomenclature is that each name must have originated in connection with some event of comparative importance. It is unthinkable to apply a casual designation to a child. At a person's death his name, or names, may be transmitted to a relative, and it is proper that the owner of a name should know when, by whom, and for what reason, it was first created. Tradition affirms that, before coming to this earth, the first people were all given designations by *Alquntsbe*; these have been carefully handed down and are still in use. One name cannot be given to two individuals; instances occur of two people having the same one, but in such cases they have different origins. One person may have several names of different kinds, each carrying

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with is some definite prerogative of a dance or other function, but all are transmissible, and at the owner's death these may fall to different relatives. A name may pass from man to woman, or vice versa, in some cases with a minor alteration. The only non-inheritable appellations are those obtained by shamans as a result of their supernatural experiences.

Not only did each group of first settlers bring with them a number of designations from above, but they also created a number on this earth and bestowed them on their children, and on the children of their sisters or brothers, in whom they felt an almost parental interest. To mark the dignity of the names, all present at the ceremony of bestowal received gifts from the creator of the name, the person who called them together for the rite. The importance of the individual depended largely upon the value of the goods distributed with respect to his name, a concept which will be elaborated in the following chapter. The descendants of these first people likewise created new designations and established their dignity by distributing presents, a practice which still continues. It follows that any complete origin myth should include a large number of names, those brought down from the land above[1] and also those created by the powerful first people on this earth itself.[2] Both types of appellation will be referred to henceforth as "ancestral names," no distinction being made between those actually brought from above and those made on earth. This is in accordance with Bella Coola usage.

Soon after the birth of a child his father, uncle, or other [illegible] members of the village together to bestow a name on the infant. The one selected must be embodied in the origin myth of one or other of the parents, and must be one not then in use by any other member of the ancestral family. A relative may give the

[1] Such a name is a *nuxlin ulnuxem*, or "Derived Name."
[2] Such a name is a *nuxumut ulnuxem*, or "Earth-Made Name."
[3] The most careful investigation failed to show that it was incumbent on any particular relative.

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child one of his own names, in which case the donor surrenders all claim to it. This designation is the obvious mark of the position of the child in the ancestral family. Without such a formal conferring of an ancestral name an infant would be without status in the community, but, as children are always welcome, some relative is invariably ready to confirm the bestowal by the necessary distribution of goods, a feature that is present in every Bella Coola ceremonial. On such occasions the guests are called by their ancestral names. An effort was made to learn what would happen if the number of children born into an ancestral family exceeded the number of ancestral names embodied in its origin myth, but no answer was forthcoming. Established custom demands that a name be provided for every child, and one is always provided. Without question designations must be invented, usually from some event in the origin myth, but it is always claimed that such were used by a long-deceased ancestor. In fact, the social custom agrees with the requirements of the mythological concept. Since bestowal of names is a matter of pride, it follows that a child often receives several from the ancestral families of which he is a member; the possession of these is a source of gratification to the owner. 553 [431]

An ancestral name given to a child is spoken of as an *ăsqŭsut* name, and the recipient as an *ăsqŭsut*, which may be translated, "commoner." He may be given several names from one origin myth, or ones from diverse origin myths if his parents are members of different ancestral families. These designations may either be those brought down from above by the first people, those made on this earth by them, or those made at some important event by later persons. Irrespective of what combination of these possibilities a child may have, he is still a commoner, and his ability to rise to the position of chief depends on his own, or his parents', ability to give potlatches, as will be described in the next chapter. In such a case his *ăsqŭsut* name is said to have been elevated to that of a *nĕkumq* (chief's) name. [556]

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614 553 [773] *The ancestral family may, therefore, be defined as those whose distinct names are embodied in the same origin myth.*

What is the stability of this group?

In consequence of the large number of names theoretically embodied in every myth, and of the necessity for validating the bestowal of any one of these by means of presents, it follows that there is always a large number of dormant names. The Bella Coola describe these as being, "In the burial ground." They are, in fact, dead. Any one of these may be resurrected by any member of the ancestral family. If a woman marries into a foreign tribe her relatives occasionally give her husband, outright, an ancestral name. In such a case that name is permanently alienated from the family to which it formerly belonged; this should happen only when the group is reduced to a few individuals, all of whom agree to the transaction. [583] But more often a woman takes as a wedding gift to her husband a name which it is understood cannot be transmitted to one of his relatives unless he has children. On the death of the childless husband, this designation reverts to his widow's ancestral family. If there are children, they cement the bond of friendship between the two families. The brother of a woman so married also bestows names on her children, as further mark of their incorporation into her ancestral family. [583] It is customary and proper, however, for the ancestral family into which a woman is married and bears children to reciprocate the compliment a few generations later, and by the marriage of one of their women to restore such names to the ancestral family to which they originally belonged. According to the Bella Coola, this practice of "return-marriage" has been the rule since the first exogamic marriages of the first people, with the result that names usually return to the patrilineal descendants of the first people to use them.

611 614 If a woman marries outside her ancestral family, her children will belong to at least two distinct ancestral groups. It is difficult to say how long an individual remembers the dif-

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forest units with which he is connected, but the following is an instance of survival for several generations. *Qwai'dis* is an orphan about ten years of age, now living in Bella Coola; he is looked upon with considerable respect as being a member of ancestral families in Bella Coola, Kimsquit, Smith Inlet, Kitkatla, and Kitlope. His pedigree, given below, explains his powers. The symbol = marks a marriage, and the male is shown on the left in each case.

Theoretically, *Qwai'dis* is as much a native of Smith Inlet as he is of Bella Coola where his father made his home. If he should visit Smith Inlet and make known his pedigree, he would be received by the members of the ancestral family of his great-great-grandmother.[1] His welcome would be more assured if he were the owner of a name from their origin myth. Difficulties of communication and frequent wars made it virtually impossible in the old days to keep in touch with relatives in distant tribes, except in the case of a mighty chief who was able to invite visitors from great distances to feasts. Thus names taken by women to foreign husbands were virtually lost to the members of her ancestral family. In the course of a few generations, such designations carried afield would be revived as if dormant by some member of the family, and all recollection of the foreign marriage forgotten.

[1] As the Bella Coola are now living in a single village, it was impossible to observe a modern instance of the ownership by one individual of rights in a number of families within the tribal area. It appears certain, however, that the sentiment expressed with regard to *Qwai'dis* at Smith Inlet was identical with those formerly held for possession of ancestral families located in different Bella Coola villages.

The converse of this process of loss is the assimilation to an origin myth of names originally brought into the ancestral family by a woman from abroad. Unless intercourse and friendly relations were maintained by "return marriages," in a few generations no tradition would be remembered to account for the name, and this, if used at all, would be interwoven into the well-known ancestral myth. Hence a myth is not static with regard to the names embodied in it. These change from generation to generation; it is probable that elements of the story itself suffer like additions and alterations, even though the people do not consider this to be the case.

The Bella Coola regard the ancestral family as a social unit, not only in terms of the present, but as extending back to the first settlement of the earth. Viewed from this angle, it is in fact, though not admitted to be so by the Bella Coola, a unilateral grouping with patrilineal descent, which may, in both the most remote and most ancient generations, be marked by matrilineal descent instead. A man frequently uses prerogatives obtained through his mother, her mother, or even her mother's mother, but it is tacitly assumed that for many previous generations such rights passed in the patrilineal line. Sometimes this succession extended back to the beginning of time; in other cases, prerogatives were transferred matrilineally for a considerable period after the settlement of the earth, before gradually becoming patrilineal.

It has been thus far assumed that the only prerogative wrapped up in an ancestral name is a knowledge of the myth in which it is embodied. But there are others. For example, several of the four inhabitants of the world are said to have carved totem-poles, each of which was displayed by its owner at the gathering when he took for himself a name. Thereafter, the only person entitled to use that particular totem-pole design was the person with the legal right to the name in question. The same principle governs all dance names, each entitling its owner to perform a certain ceremonial. Thus it is possible to enlarge the previous definition by saying that:

The ancestral family consists of those whose ancestral names, embodying definite prerogatives, are embodied in a single origin myth.

A stronger basis is easier to understand why names are so carefully maintained within the ancestral family by thinking of them as symbols of prerogatives, but it must be emphasized that the Bella Coola preserve with equal jealousy those designations of which the only prerogative is the marking of this actual membership.

If, then, the ancestral family be regarded as a group possessing a large number of name-prerogatives, it may well be asked how these are distributed among its members. The first point to be emphasized is that the ancestral family is a unit held together without definite social mechanism. There is no recognized "head" of the family, nor are there any clearly formulated laws governing the transmission of the name-prerogatives. Before death a man usually calls together his relatives and "counsels," according to his desire, his personal property to sisters and nieces, and his intangible property to nieces. Such a designation does not become the property of the new owner unless he is able to validate his ownership by a distribution of presents, commonly the name is "dead." If, during this period, some other member of the ancestral family should desire it for a child, or for himself, he can take possession of it by the customary distribution of presents. In doing so he would anger the layman, but the latter cannot himself use the appellation once it is already in use. Even at the present time there are bitter quarrels over the assumption of names, and such have certainly occurred for many generations. If a man can validate fairly promptly a name called to him, it is most unusual for anyone else to try to demand him.

If a man dies intestate, his sons consider themselves his natural heirs, and the most respected of them validates for himself as many names as he desires or is able to assume. Disputes are not as common as might be expected since the

influence of a chief is usually sufficient to settle claims as to which of his brothers shall receive which name. Even if none of them is a chief, some one of them is certain to have greater influence than the others. If a dead man has no sons, his daughters can bestow his names, which they may transmit to their children. Failing both sons and daughters, a man's brothers and sisters are his heirs, as usual, the one of influence being the one who really arranges matters.[1] Since the law, it must be emphasized that if the members of the immediate family are slow to validate a dead man's names, they may be taken by any member of the ancestral family.

In former days it was necessary to create a "remembrancer" to preserve the ancestral myth. The older and more influential members of the ancestral family would choose an intelligent young relative to whom the myth is given [illegible]. One informant described how her mother, the last official "remembrancer," had been instructed by her grandfather. The old man had been summoned to take his granddaughter, a girl about twelve years of age, to bed with him, and whisper to her the myth, with his hand pressed over her eyes to prevent escape of his words. At the conclusion of the recitation he always spat in her eyes to make the words stick. The members of the ancestral family, recognizing that the "remembrancer" was the person best acquainted with the myth, were wont to consult him as her client is, and, of course, about the names embodied in it. A "remembrancer" had no authority to decree who should receive names, but appeals were often made to him, and a tactful individual was frequently able to settle disputes.

Considering the extreme fluidity of the whole system it is surprising that quarrels are not more common. These are barred by the system of wills, through which a man bequeaths his most valuable personal property, especially his intangible property in twice-conferred names (11, p. 4). Personal

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ancient, are unusual; normally, the group is largely centred in one village, but with members scattered in other localities. There is no central organization. It is generally recognized that such a unit belongs in the village where its first ancestors settled, and the leading chief of that village is, therefore, an important person in the family, though without status of "head" of it. His advice may be appealed to in cases of disputes concerning names, but he lacks judicial authority. Theoretically, the descendants of the elder of two first people are considered as "elder brothers and elder sisters" of those descended from a younger brother or sister; but this is nothing more than an accepted fact, it plays no part in the social life of the community.

In addition to human names, the origin myths include those applied to dogs. The first ancestral group had dogs, and these animals had names, or were given them by their powerful masters. Ever since that time their descendants can apply these designations to their own dogs. It is unnecessary to validate such names, but no two canines can be given the same one at the same time, according to the rule which governs the bestowal of human names. This matter was not investigated in detail, and the only dog's name collected was one for which the origin myth is as follows:

[illegible] When *Tā'ia* was first settled in the beginning of time, the houses were built in parallel rows, one above the other, up the side of a steep bank. At the very top was a cedar-house, built over such a steep incline that occupants rolled down the hillside. In consequence, one of the early chiefs living there gave to his dog the name, *Nā'ēpēmaxē'ā mutē'*, "Rolling downward," which has since been preserved in the ancestral family of the descendants.

[illegible]

Great difficulty was experienced in obtaining information about land names. The Bella Coola resent keenly the way in which their land has been occupied by white settlers without, according to their standpoint, proper compensation. Con-

is a more obvious social grouping than the ancestral family, though it is of the latter that a man is most proud. The member of a small, unimportant village often describes himself as a native of a neighbouring, larger one when at a distance from his home, simply as a matter of convenience.

Even before the coming of the white man, village sites were abandoned and people took up their residence with friends or relatives elsewhere. In fact, mythology contains instances of such migrations at the very beginning of time. In cases of this kind, memory of the earlier home has been preserved for many generations, and may perhaps be the explanation of the many villages which are described as two, and which have two names. In the early days immigrants were always to have been welcomed; they added to the numerical strength of the village, and the original inhabitants enjoyed boasting to the newcomers of their descent from the first settlers. Since any group forced to abandon their own homes naturally moved to those of relatives, there is no difficulty in understanding the process by which they continued to intermarry with their new neighbours. Thus two, or even more ancestral families, inhabiting one village tended to form a closely inter-related stock. In rare instances, two unrelated ancestral families may have become inhabitants of the same village, which would unquestionably lead to intermarriage.

In most cases the endogamic tendencies already described cause the village community to be largely members of one ancestral family. In addition there are always other ancestors; strangers who have fled from their homes and sought refuge among the Bella Coola; the offspring of illicit intercourse with slaves; guests; foreigners, especially Carriers temporarily resident in Bella Coola; and finally slaves, without status in the community. The real inhabitants, those whose power is firmly planted in the village, are the reputed descendants of the first group of settlers, and accordingly a relative coming to dwell in a village usually endeavours to obtain a name from the origin myth of the ancestral family occupying it, and thus

[illegible]

establish himself with the traditions of his new home. This is another illustration of the peculiar tendency of the whole organization.

Politically, the village is the most important Bella Coola unit. Usually, though not always related to one another, the inhabitants are always friends. If an attack is made on a village by a hostile war-party, all the inhabitants suffer equally. On the other hand, if the residents decide to attack another settlement, there is no compulsion for anyone to share the burden. Each individual, with the exception of slaves, follows his own inclination. In the case of murder or other wrong inflicted by an individual, the responsibility rests on his immediate family, not the village. Factions within the village seem to have been unimportant, individual quarrels were common, and often led to murder, but if a family became unpopular or considered itself aggrieved, it usually moved to another village. Neighboring settlements were generally on friendly terms and often assisted each other in war, but this was not compulsory. Indeed, cases are known in which a war-party from the same town, about to attack [illegible], passed within a quarter of a mile of [illegible] without its inhabitants even warning their threatened neighbors.

So far as internal organization is concerned, the village is as fluid a unit as are most Bella Coola groupings. If one individual has attained a position of eminence through the potlatch system (vol. I, chap. xv), he is "chief" of the village, and his advice is generally followed. If several men have approximately the same importance, there is no dominating figure. In any case, a chief lacks executive authority, and such deference as he receives is due to his personal influence. Some slight deference is paid to the man who uses the name of the eldest of the four group of ancients, the last chief, but there are not enough to surround the title of "chief" with the significance usually attached to the term. The important members of the village are summoned to meet for the discussion of ceremonial mat-

family are liable. It is very rare for a woman to be killed in a blood feud. A death is answered by a death. If two persons should be slain for one murder the family which has suffered the double loss endeavours to kill another of their enemies. In case of wounding, an effort is made to wound the offender, but if he should be killed his family would try to avenge him. More often, one of the offender's family takes the initiative of offering goods to the injured family, "to cure the wound." If the offer is accepted, and the goods delivered properly, the matter is at an end. If a murder be committed within the ranks of the immediate family, for instance, if a brother kill a brother, revenge, if exacted, must be meted out to the actual offender. If approved to do so, the leading chief of a village may offer his advice, but it is always considered that revenge concerns only the immediate family.

Revenge is a topic which shows clearly the essential kinship of the family. There are no well-defined degrees of relationship within which responsibility runs. Instead, everyone knows, in the open life of the community, how every person shares the family life of the individual, and they alone are held to account, or they alone demand compensation. From its very nature, the family must be a bilateral unit which, when powerful, stretches out to absorb members of the maternal families of both mother and father.

Not only does the family thus appear exogamic in its extending to itself members of the maternal family of other names, but those entering themselves are deeply concerned in the affairs of the family. This is most clearly shown in the case of children who, of course, are members of the maternal family of both their mother and father. A few days after birth some relative is expected to call together the people of the village where the child is born for the honored and notable dead of an ancestral name. It is considered an evidence of poverty if this is done by the father, as if the child were only supported by the parents, not by a larger circle of relatives. It is immaterial whether this gathering be called by a relative

of the father or the mother. In June, 1910, a Bella Coola girl had reached the age of about six months without having received a name. There was much adverse criticism about the persistency of her father's father and her mother's father, who were held equally to blame, but who had really been deterred by fear of the law prohibiting the potlatch.

As a child grows older he is helped in the performance of ceremonial rites by his parents and by their brothers and sisters. To this, too, it is considered a mark of poverty if only the parents take part. If a man's own children do not appear likely to carry on the traditions of his ancestral family, a boy or his brothers is favoured, the children of either a brother or sister, since, like his own, they are all members of the same ancestral family. Especially at Kimsquit[1] it is customary for a man to help his sisters' children, not that there is any lack of knowledge of the real father, but rather as a mark of respect and family feeling displayed by a man to his sister. Moreover, in both Bella Coola proper and in Kimsquit, it is not improper for a name which a man has raised to a position of dignity by the expenditure of much goods to be passed to his own son, it should go to a distant relative. When a father withholds a name for his child it should be not long thereafter.

One aspect of the manner in which the family keeps impenetrably into the ancestral family can be seen in the inheritance of names. When a man calls his relatives together to make his will he is guided in the choice of recipients by the characteristics of his children. No child can receive much from his father, but boy children are slightly favoured. This is particularly true of names with which are bound up valuable dance prerogatives, whereas, as previously mentioned, ancestral names of which the importance depends

[1] According to a well-known Bella Coola informant, a Bella Bella girl married to a Bella Coola man was taken back to her own village, and the man was compelled to adopt her. By Kimsquit custom the man would have remained in his own village, and the woman would have been adopted by her husband's people. Kimsquit informants insist that, though continuing to live in their own village, a man is a member of his wife's family, and that his children, if born there, are members of the clan, phratry, and moiety of their mother.

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on the value of the goods distributed in connection with them, usually revert to the ancestral family and can be revived by any member of it. It seems needless to publish lengthy pedigrees, illustrating the transmission of ancestral names; it will suffice to say that such sometimes pass from father to son, from a man to his brother's son, his sister's son, his sister, his daughter, or to other relatives belonging to the immediate family. On the other hand, with equal frequency, names pass from a man to distant relatives of the same ancestral family.

Thus the Bella Coola family, important though it is in the life of the individual, cannot be defined with exactitude either as regards composition or functions; it varies according to the importance of its head, and tends to merge in the ancestral families of the parents.

Kinship Terms

In Bella Coola, as in so many parts of the world, kinship terms mirror the social life of the community. The Bella Coola system of nomenclature is not so clear-cut in its application as in other regions, and requires considerable explanation concerning the uses of many of the terms. It will be seen that the system, although fundamentally founded on the family, presents many classificatory features. Whether or not these are to be ascribed to an ancient clan system is most doubtful; a short discussion of that point will be found at the end of this section.

The terms are arranged in the following order: first, an individual's relatives of the preceding generation, then those of the next preceding, with their parents, then those of the present generation, followed by terms for his of the generations following. Finally come relations by marriage.

	[illegible]	[illegible]
Father	[illegible]	[illegible]
	This term is properly used only by a small child, though often continued by an adult as a term of endearment.	Term used only by a small child.

Mother's sister's husband	Same as father's sister's husband	
Brother's son's wife	Same as son's wife	Same as son's wife, or as girl of gens, "wife of my son"
Sister's son's wife	" "	" "
Brother's daughter's husband	Same as daughter's husband	Same as daughter's husband, or as "wife of my son," "husband of my son"
Sister's daughter's husband	" "	" "

In case of adoption, the same kinship terms are used as if the adopted person were a member of the family by birth. A more complicated situation arises when a child who is regarded as the reincarnation (I, p. 646) of a recently deceased elderly relative, is given the latter's name. In such a case the child is addressed by the kinship terms applicable to his namesake. In recent years, at any rate, this application is without social significance, and, as far as could be learned, this has always been the case. Bella Coola sentiment is that it is fitting for a child to receive the name of one of its ancestors. When a person sees the child, and thinks of his name, he thinks of the late deceased, hence it is natural to use kinship terms accordingly. This is more obvious when the child is regarded as a reincarnation, though even in such a case he does not receive any of the marks of respect paid to his namesake; the reincarnation is physical, not social. In course of time this is forgotten and the child takes his place among others of his own generation, though it may be remembered in theoretical question as ceremonial occasions.

The kinship terminology of the Bella Coola combines features of the family and classificatory systems. The reciprocal terms for parents and children-in-law, brothers and sisters-in-law, lack of sex differentiation for brothers and sisters, and the importance of age in the designations applied to persons of the same generation, are all features of the classificatory system. On the other hand, bifurcation, failure to

the writer was in Bulu Coulu, a non-ceremonial entertainment was given one evening at which several men sang and performed. The writer was asked to sing a Bulu Coulu song, which he did in the belief that it was not one that was incorporated in the ancestral myth of anyone. Unfortunately, his teacher had erred, and as soon as the song was completed an old woman arose and stated that it belonged to her ancestral family. She avoided the difficulty of its singing by immediately announcing that the singer was her "son." Thus the writer was adopted into a Bulu Coulu family, a circumstance which aided him considerably in collecting information. This did not alter the fact that a ceremonial song had been sung. Accordingly, the woman gave presents to the guests, thereby legalizing the adoption, and saving herself from the disgrace of having one of her songs used as if it were a matter of no consequence, free to anyone.

Names

Presents are also a means of obtaining names. Every Bulu Coulu has at least one name embodied in an ancient myth. A man who wishes to become a *chief* can do so only by giving lavish presents to make his designation "strong," "firm," or "bright," to use Bulu Coulu expressions. Such gifts increase the importance of the owner's name, and they obtain for him the right to a seat, more or less definitely located, in the house. Since all Bulu Coulu habitations are built on similar lines, a man can occupy his exact position when summoned to a ceremony in any house. The validating of ancestral names and the acquisition of more are among the important factors which cause an polarities.

In the beginning of time, when the first people were sent down to populate the earth, it is reported that each who established a village, consisting of a single house, seated himself in the best spot within the dwelling, namely the central position behind the fire, his younger relatives ranged either beside him

ascribe one motive which took place there in 1913 is [illegible] organized by rivalry.

A chief who desires to have his son, or other near relative, succeed to his actual seat may cultivate for him a position at his fete. If several potlatches be given, with distribution of goods for this purpose, it becomes recognized that the son shall take his father's seat. Were the boy, he will not have his father's influence or prestige unless he can himself continue to give away goods, because the power of a chief rests on this, not on his ancient name or the location of his seat.

Further evidence that a man's influence rests less on his actual name than on the wealth distributed with reference to it is found in the lack of uniformity in the type of names individual. Those of highest potential importance are the ones brought to the earth by the first comers, yet in many cases a man prefers to elevate his position with respect to a name of less origin. It is not uncommon for a man to validate several ancestral designations, and choose one of them to be his most important by valuable gifts for the seat which he occupies with respect to it, or in other cases a name of modern origin is adopted and elevated. Thus, a certain Bella Coola chief who is the legal owner of the names Qoi and Kwalam, two of the five people to settle the earth, has based his greatness on the goods expended for a seat with reference to the name Sisiutle, of more modern origin. It is accordingly clear that any Bella Coola can rise to a position of importance, even though he lacks the right to one of the most ancient names. Moreover, some chiefs prefer to validate several names rather than concentrate on one alone.

Furthermore, a powerful chief can create a name. In this case the "power" of the designation rests not in any supernatural origin, but in the actual wealth distributed. Two examples will serve to illustrate this point. Between 1880 and 1890 a chief was preparing to give a potlatch at which he expected to receive a name, when his downriver the village with the exception of his house. This added to the ruins of

the food and goods distributed, since it was given out the people were in dire straits on account of the destruction of all their stores. In consequence, the uncle decided to make a new name for his nephew, Aleimi, 'Charred Wood.' By virtue of the goods expended this name became an honourable title, and was welcomed by lavish presents. Any similar incident connected with a potlatch can be made the origin of a living name. Another example of a nonhereditary name is one derived from a peculiarity of the man giving the potlatch. A number of years ago a chief was jeered at by his associates on account of the frequency with which he had to visit the toilet. When next he gave a potlatch he named the name *Ajeni* is, 'The Toilet One,' and gave great dignity to the designation by presents.

Since a man is valuable only on account of the goods he can afford in dressing it with respect to a certain name, it is obvious that names and rank are closely associated. A man who wishes his son to succeed to his own location in the house owns the croft, as has been described, at his fee. It may be a matter of years before he actually takes his father's position, but during that time he is treated with respect, he is still a commoner, but it is recognized that his parent considers him likely to 'make good' and become a man chief by ability to give presents. Should he fail to do so, ownership to influence wanes, in spite of his name and duly validated son. He keeps the latter, but it is no longer considered one of importance. Thus, too, the course of names from generation to generation is a series of curves, sometimes one is on a pinnacle of glory when 'made strong' by a powerful chief, but in the next generation it may fall to the door through ownership by a wedding. As the Kula Circle expires it has become [illegible]

A name is rarely established in a man, and usually only when a chief has no son or other near male descendant. In such a case the nephew or nearest male and has the same duties as a male child. As the powers that are important

chief had thus obtained a seat for his daughter, as well as room for his two sons. But usually a woman continues to use the ancestral name given to her in infancy until she is able to assist her husband in a potlatch, when a name is validated for her (see I, p. 410). The ancestral names of the first women to occupy this earth are reserved for women and, like men's names, vary in prestige according to the prowess of their owners. Most names given to children, though embodied in origin myths, are applicable to either sex; and these are the common designations of women. Cases are known in which a woman has assumed an ancestral name if her brother has allowed it to fall into disrepute through failure to give potlatches.

With such a fluid system, no fixed line can be drawn between chief and commoner. But after his fourth potlatch a man's influence in the community has become so great that he will usually feel justified in having the carpenters make for him a memorial seat. There is nothing to prevent a person having one made for him before he has given the requisite number of potlatches, but too rapid assumption may render him liable to the scorn of the community through his failure to show himself sufficiently "strong." The contempt shown to anyone attempting to usurp too lofty a place is a strong deterrent to a proud young man.

On the memorial seat are carved the man's ancestral crests, in other words the forms in which his first ancestors came to earth, or some of the beings with whom they came in contact. To show these is a matter of pride, but unless the display is fittingly validated, the man's own dignity will be lowered, as well as that of his ancestors. Construction of a seat is particularly common when a man is establishing himself in the central position behind the fire, and claims this to be where his first ancestor sat. Others among the first people may have chosen seats in other parts of the house, and in these, likewise, a man who is taking his ancestral name may have a memorial seat constructed. Establishment in such a position increases a chief's feeling of natural superiority, as if strength-

standardized. Boys and girls helped their parents, and there was no definite age at which they ceased to do so. The fluidity of the Bella Coola system was contrary to any standardization. The more important a chief became, the more did he receive from dependent relatives, but the more did they expect in the way of "return presents." It was advantageous to be generous, within the family circle as well as without, since life was so public that every transaction even of a "private" nature, was well known. Unquestionably, a greedy and strong-minded individual must frequently have taken advantage of help from his housemates, but there was no strict code of ethics in regard to this. In brief, it may be said that the acquisition of wealth was an overstandardized, individual, matter; its distribution was likewise according to individual volition, although within a rigidly defined tribal pattern.

Named Society

The ancestral names that chiefs desire to raise to a position of eminence are usually embodied in myths dealing with the first settlement of this earth, names which belong, as has been stated, to the ancestral family. Many of these traditions record other designations as well, each of which carries with it the prerogative of performing a type of dance known as *nusaid*. These will be spoken of, henceforth, as *nusaid* names. The Bella Coola do not know the meaning of this term. These names, like ancestral ones, are the potential property of members of the ancestral family, but can only be assumed when duly validated by presents. Such an assumption follows a period of seclusion in the back-room of the house. Both men and women are eligible. A person may be secluded in this way a number of times, acquiring a new *nusaid* name on each occasion, but as presents must be distributed every time, it follows that only the children or relatives of wealthy chiefs can be so favoured. It is desirable to have the bestowal of a *nusaid* name occur at a potlatch, since guests from foreign tribes are then

E 98 Swanton E-1 (1922-1924)1948
NEW Bella Coola NEW

prowess, and the fame of the initiate is thereby carried further afield than would be possible if only Bella Coola were in attendance. Every individual duly included and given a *sumé* name feels himself communicably allied to others who have had a similar experience, and they form a grouping which may be termed the *sumé* secret society.

The close connection between this society and chiefs is obvious from the presence of names of each type in the same ancestral myths. None the less, every chief, that is a person with duly validated ancestral name and seat, is not a *sumé*, unless he has validated a *sumé* name for himself and undergone the period of seclusion. Conversely, a man may be a duly authorized member of the *sumé* although lacking a seat and the other marks of chiefdom. The relationship is, however, so close that the Bella Coola think of the *sumé* society as a society of chiefs. *Sumé* dances take place at potlatches and funerals, and occasionally at gatherings of less importance. Difficulties arise at the death of a chief who has failed to use some of his goods for the acquisition of a *sumé* name. Such a case took place at the death of an important Bella Coola in the summer of 1923. Theoretically, he was ignorant of *sumé* rites, but after much discussion these were used on account of his importance as a *sumé* chief, an instance of the manner in which a man's personal importance over-rules ceremonial decorum.

The Bella Coola believe that only some of their *sumé* name-prerogatives came to this earth at the beginning of time with their first ancestors, and that many more have been acquired later by supernatural experiences. These were especially common among their forbears as they ranged over this earth making places to settle in the beginning of time. No *sumé* name can be assumed casually; each must have had a specific origin. There are few *sumé* origin myths, though theoretically there should be one to account for every name. The explanation appears to lie in the undoubted fact that many *sumé* prerogatives have been acquired comparatively recently

5:McDougall E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NES Bellacoola NES

Although guests from different tribes are sometimes invited to other ceremonials, it is at potlatches that they are essential. Since the validity of such transactions as marriages, divorces, or the assumption of professional prerogatives depends on the presence of witnesses, and since the importance of such a rite depends on the number of witnesses, a man is always eager to carry out any public performance at a potlatch when he is sure of the attention of foreigners, and the consequent wider diffusion of knowledge of what he has done. The man who has invited guests is usually willing to allow others to perform at his potlatch, since it increases the complexity and importance of the affair. It follows that no two potlatches are alike; one will contain features entirely lacking in another. Moreover, the wealth of the donor determines how many rites he himself will cause to be performed. The fundamental concept of the potlatch is the inviting of guests from abroad to witness rites in connection with an ancestral myth, especially the return of a recently deceased relative of the donor to visit the living.

At any important potlatch the following rites are carried out, and in the account of the ritual it will be assumed that these above are taking place. If the reader bears this summary in mind, he is less likely to be confused by the complication of rites.

(1) The return of a dead ancestor to visit the living.

(2) The initiation of young men or women into the *nusuit* society. This includes the validation of a *nusuit* name for each, and a period of seclusion in the back-room. The initiates may either be relatives of the donor of the potlatch, or young persons whose relatives are taking the opportunity to carry out the rite in the presence of foreigners. Some of the initiates may already be members of the society, undergoing a further period of seclusion in order to increase their status by a further distribution of presents.

(3) The payment by the wife of the donor and her family of goods to "ransom" her from her husband. This is a legal fiction, though necessary to maintain the status of the children.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

bear on the wall of his house, or an ancestral name. The speaker always recounts the whole myth before announcing which portion of it is transmitted to X as a prerogative. It is understood that this transference will be duly validated by presents to X when he gives his potlatch. Such are termed *dzâmâ'nemtem* and signify the repurchase of a wife from her husband. Though this is known to be a fiction it has extreme social importance. Unless *dzâmâ'nemtem* is paid there is an ineradicable blot upon the children; in fact, it is one of the essentials of a legal marriage. All prerogatives thus transferred on *sîdetem* become the property of X and will in time pass to his children, unless recalled to the wife's family by further repurchase (*dzâmâ'nemtem*) money or goods. In this fashion elements of family myths become scattered, and one of the considerations in choosing a wife is to select a woman able to bring back some missing part of the husband's myth. 556* 425 583 [581]

The usual present is an ancestral name, which X henceforth uses as potlatches as his most distinguished title, though the myth in which it is incorporated does not belong to him. As long as the name remains in X's family those who originally owned it are unable to make use of it. Such a name is said to be "dragged across" by the wife to her husband, the immense weight or importance of the designation being compared with the dragging of a heavy log. Occasionally, the father of a married woman, animated by the kindliest feelings towards his son-in-law, may give him outright a myth with all the names embodied therein. This can happen only where there are no other survivors of the family. In such a case when the myth is recounted it must always be mentioned how it has been obtained. The number and type of the prerogatives transferred depend upon the sentiments with which his wife's family regard X. If, in addition to being a worthy man, he is member of their ancestral family, or of one with which his wife's has frequently intermarried, so that in course of generations prerogatives have intermingled, there is less objection to giving him such rights than if he were an unrelated individual. [553] [551] 556* 425 606 553

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NES Bellacoola NES

553
* 556 A man may receive so many prerogatives with regard to house
425 painting that he has to continue the designs on the sides of his
[606] dwelling, or he may receive so many figures for a totem-pole
[532] that he can erect one of composite pattern. X may acquire prerogatives not only from his father-in-law, but from his mother-in-law, and if he is the husband of several wives, the family of each may contribute something. If, for some inexplicable reason, X is not given any prerogative from the family of his wife, he uses one of his own ancestral myths with the names belonging thereto. A man who gives many potlatches can choose to validate numerous family names for himself, or to concentrate on one alone, elevating it to a position of great importance. But any names he validates must belong to his
[615] family; it is contrary to custom for a Bella Coola to steal a name to which he has no right.

*556 At this, or some other suitable time, X prays for assistance
782 in the complicated rites that are to follow. Taking four pieces of pounded and dyed cedar-bark, and four pieces of undyed bark, he places on each a small quantity of food and throws the eight into the fire. Likewise he may throw in four small pieces of any kind of goods. As he does so he appeals to the supreme god:

"Please strengthen my spirit for the many duties which are before me."

[756] Instead of praying himself, X may ask a shaman to do so for him, in the belief that the latter's supplication will be more efficacious.

*556 The necessity for supernatural assistance lies in the fact
688 that any serious error or disaster in the performance of potlatch
628 rites calls for summary punishment, since X has allowed ceremonial *suask* knowledge to reach the uninitiated. In such a case the duty of meting out a penalty falls upon the members of a foreign tribe. Nothing is said at the time, but the departing guests take away with them information of what has happened. Great latitude is allowed as to who shall be the chastisers. The guests may be related to X and the members

Jesup Northwest. E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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552 [575] [781] The *sisi* returns to the house and tells the guests that *Mulaxtsis* has indeed been near and has promised to return later on. Those who are not *nusuk*, being steeped in the belief concerning the omnipresence of supernatural beings and ignorant of the carefully concealed whistles, readily credit the tale that they have heard the voice of a denizen of the land above, whose language is intelligible to the *sisi*. Thus is the supernatural element of the potlatch first called forth.

After a final distribution of food, the guests return to their homes.

THE INITIATION OF *Nusuk* NEOPHYTES

552 575 [609] At a potlatch valuable presents are given to the foreign guests, but it is unthinkable for the donor to give to his fellow-villagers. Accordingly, if X desires to display his generosity towards them, he does so at a preliminary ceremony, when he begins the initiation, or re-initiation, into the *nusuk* society of any number of young people. After elaborate counting and re-counting of his goods, both those actually stored in his house and those promised,[a] X decides that he has sufficient to initiate, for example, seven neophytes. His first choice will be his own children, failing those, the sons and daughters of a brother or sister, or of his wife's relatives, or, if none of these are available, those of a friend. X does not gain any pecuniary advantage from such a transaction, in fact he loses, but the prestige attached outweighs this consideration.

"Is it not the privilege of a chief to be generous?" say the Bella Coola.

He approaches the parents of those whom he has selected, always members of old-established families. As it is to the [553] social advantage of a young person to be a *nusuk*, a father usually tells X a *nusuk* name, dormant in his family, which he wishes to have conferred on his son, and how much he is willing to contribute for the purpose. In many cases, a man will

[426] [a] In spite of the care exercised, mistakes are frequent, giving rise to hurried borrowings from friends to make up the necessary amount.

preservation of an air of mystery by keeping out of sight of those who are not *nuxalk*. Food is brought to them, and members of the society are free to enter the room at any time. Some of the older ones enlighten T and his fellows with regard to the secret rites, and especially to the human origin of the whistle. Proud of his new status, an initiate never dreams of communicating this information to those who are not members of the society. As a privilege, the *nuxalkmen* are sometimes allowed to go out at night, care being taken that no uninitiated person shall see them. The length of the period of confinement varies according to the number of young people to be admitted, and on the actual time of the potlatch; the minimum duration is about two weeks, the maximum, four months. Sometimes the confinement is lightened by the arrival of carpenters who have chosen this secret place to work at the *nuxalk* masks. After all the initiates have been confined to the back room, X continues to invite people to his house at frequent intervals to practise their songs. On each occasion food is distributed, so that the meetings are expensive to the host, but no donor grumbles about it, as thereby he establishes his prestige as a chief.

THE VALIDATION OF *Nuxalk* NAMES

The next event is the validation of the initiates' *nuxalk* names,[1] a ceremony termed *xa'oxalkm*. X, with the assistance of his family, piles on the floor of his house the goods which he intends to use for this purpose. In the old days these consisted of skins, blankets, food, baskets, bowls, slaves (symbolized by stones), canoes (symbolized by sticks), and so on. Nowadays, money is used. Towards dusk a herald summons the people to X's house. For many years it has been customary to invite everyone, but it is said that long ago only the *nuxalk* would have been present. When all are seated,

[1] Validation of the *nuxalkmen*' names is essential at the potlatch itself, but chiefs endeavour to display their wealth and generosity to their fellow-villagers as well. Consequently, though donors are eager to perform this rite, it can be omitted entirely without affecting the potlatch.

without special gloom, X calls upon some eloquent friend to direct the distribution of the money. This speaker owns [illegible] X is carrying out the [illegible] incumbent on his noble and exalted station, how all honour him for so doing, and how all should strive to follow his example. He then says that to give strength to the name [illegible], for example, X will give away, say [illegible]. He further announces who have contributed this amount: perhaps $50 from X, and the other half from various relatives of Y. If the sum in question be large it is always mentioned from whom, and how the donor has obtained the money. Thus every financial transaction becomes publicly known, and the more prominently a man figures, the greater is his prestige. Next, the amount to be used for the second initiate's name is announced, with the same details, and in like fashion the sums decided upon for each successive initiate.

Then the total amount is distributed among the guests by the heralds, under X's supervision. He usually gives everyone the same amount; men sometimes receive more than women, but in every case members of the same sex receive an equal sum. The Bella Coola are not expert mathematicians, so that faulty division is the rule. If X, for example, decides to give $1.50 to each person present, it is a time of considerable anxiety while the stack of bills is being reduced, to watch whether or not there will be the exact amount. If X finds out he is short he will hastily borrow some money, as it would be an insult to omit anyone. If the amount be too great, he will use the surplus in making presents to the more influential guests.

With the exception of this possible surplus, the money distributed is regarded as an outright present; "it has flowed away to make good the boys' names" is the Bella Coola expression. A chief will remember how much he has received, and if he wishes to uphold or to increase his own dignity, he will make a point of returning at least an equivalent to X on some future occasion. But though in effect he may make return, such is never said to be the case. "The money has flowed away."

Free people, white guests, or others from whom no return can possibly be received, share equally in the distribution; the money goes to all to validate the transaction. On the other hand, X expects that the presents, if any, made to a few individuals after the general distribution, will be returned with interest. In selecting the recipients of these he has been influenced, first, by the necessity of repaying old debts, and secondly by his desire to make good investments in the shape of presents to those likely to show their chiefly return by returning with heavy interest. No request is ever made for such repayment, but as the transaction has been publicly announced, a man loses in fail to repay, since that would lose his prestige. No one may refuse a present, no matter how embarrassing it may be.

After the gifts have been distributed the songs of the initiates are practised. Members of the sound society join in with the singers, the other spectators listen attentively, full of interest, but take no part. X with his helpers then gives food to all, and they depart.

Before the coming of the white man a potlatch was a rare event, and sound members were initiated at local gatherings. The period of confinement was the same as that just described, but instead of merely practising the songs during the interval, the initiates appeared and danced to them. It will be convenient here to describe that ritual, emphasizing the fact that at a potlatch, when the initiates can be confirmed in the presence of foreign guests, this preliminary rite does not take place.

After the distribution of goods the singers beat out* the tune of any one of the initiates, and all emerge in close succession from the back-room, each wearing a blanket, without distinctive design, a collar of dyed and pounded cedar-bark decorated with pendent waped skins, and the distinctive round hand-drum (see Plate 1).† This consists of a circlet of grizzly bear claws, surmounted in front by a small forehead mask; from the inner side of the circlet there rise a number of wooden

*The present tense is used for vividness.

†[Doc cit. 116, facing p 218 - ANALYST]

[illegible] the last songs that was made for the initiates, and any of the usual members of the audience desiring to "help" the initiates dance to them, even X himself on occasion. By "help" no material aid is indicated; such dancing merely displays a friendly and sympathetic interest. The initiates, emphasizing to avoid head-dresses, appear at the door of the back-room, and sometimes dance a few steps. Occasionally, at the conclusion of his song, a lad's parents, or other relatives, bring forward the goods which will be later distributed by X to the guests. On other occasions, this is reserved for the following day. Food is distributed and all disperse.

[illegible] THE POTLATCH: SECOND DAY

On this, one of the two most important days of the whole ceremony, the following rites take place.

During the Day

(a) Communication to the foreign guests of the new *nusuk* names of the initiates concealed within the back-room; these names are the ones that have been made known to the Bella Coola before the potlatch proper.

(b) Payment to X by the members of his wife's family of the goods necessary to ransom her from her husband.

During the Evening

(a) Repayment by X of debts owed to members of his own village.

(a) Return of a dead relative of X to visit the living.

(c) Distribution of presents to validate this appearance.

(d) In some cases, dancing by some of the *nusuk* initiates.

Early in the morning X gives each of his guests a wash-basin with the other necessary appurtenances for cleaning up, and towards noon all of those invited reassemble in his house. Three river canoes have been brought in and are ranged, two parallel to the side walls, and one parallel to the back wall, all far enough out to permit people to sit behind them. Boxes containing large quantities of red elderberries and olachen

guests have been placed in readiness. X selects as many youths as the number on whom he intends to confer the names which have already been announced and exhibited among the Bella Coola, but are now to be made known to the foreign guests. He omits the lads, who are to substitute for the initiates, on the various hours. Everybody understands that these are merely representatives. X requests two chiefs to act as his announcers, choosing two with good voices and abundant self-confidence. To one of these X whispers the *secret* name of one of the initiates.

"His name is now——" calls out the announcer, pointing to one of the substitutes, and the listeners readily recognize the initiate intended, from the sun, in conjunction with his new designation, of his well-known ancestral name. The invalids repeat the new name with the usual badinage, so that it becomes well known to all present. In like manner the *secret* name given to each initiate is publicly announced. The substitutes receive no advantage from their part in the proceedings.

Then the boxes are opened and red elderberries poured into the canoes in front of the guests. Stones are provided with which the visitors pound the fruit into pulp which they proceed to mix with their hands, as eulachon grease and cranberries are added. Then X's helpers distribute spoons and the feast commences. All start to eat, but after an interval one of the leading Bella Coola chiefs strikes the side of his canoe with a spoon, as a signal that all must stop. X has several dishes in readiness. If he is wealthy some of these will be carved in the shape of beaver, eagle, or other form in which an ancestor appeared. These dishes are filled with the food which all have been eating and then placed before the principal chiefs, who thus have a second supply. At this point the singers begin to beat out an ancient song of the type known as *se'ele*. Each of these has been handed down from the distant past, when some chief, ancestor of X, had it composed for himself at a potlatch. The theme is always about the form or fame of his

fame to spread beyond his village. These goods are then distributed among the guests, and are not returnable, as they are said to have "become nothing" for Y's sake. He may nevertheless humbly himself in the giving of these presents. 555*

The next scene is the strengthening, or initial establishment, of seats for some of X's younger relatives, in many cases including those concealed within the back-room. It is not necessary for him to do this, nor need he do so for all, unless he desires. The parents of the youths have been consulted as to the ancestral name which each is to receive, embodied in an ancestral myth. On the other hand, X may choose to establish in a seat some young man whom he has not initiated into the ranks of the *ramé*. The two actions are distinct, though closely related. 555* 556*

X picks out a place at the side of the house for one of the initiates, whom it will be convenient to designate as Y. Another youth acts as a substitute for Y, whether or not he is within the back-room. The substitute is recognized as such, and receives no social or pecuniary advantage from his position. He stands near the door till the speaker calls upon him to enter, as if he had newly come into the house. He is summoned by the *ramé* name recently announced for Y. After consultation with X the announcer calls out that henceforth Y's name is So-and-So, giving an ancestral one dormant in Y's family, and that his seat is where he is now sitting. The family of Y contribute to the strengthening of his seat, in fact X himself may not provide any portion of the goods expended. The speaker, prompted by some member of Y's family, gives the general outline of the myth in which the name is featured, and concludes with a polite speech expressing the hope that Y may rise to the fame of the first holder of the name he now owns.

Then one of the heralds calls out, "Y's seat is too hard!"

Someone, Y's father, mother, or other relative, X or his wife, brings forward goods to soften his seat.

"Y's neck is unsupported," cries another of the heralds.

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When goods are brought forth. In the fashion all kinds of things are borrowed: a copper, "to support T's back"; a mouse-skin, "to shield him from the fire"; one dress, "to make him strong and brave as he moves about the earth"; a pile of blankets, "to provide a cape to keep him warm"; more goods, "to give him shoes"; some cloth, "to wipe his mouth after eating"; and other things to provide him with fur, leggings, and so on. The family of T keep telling the hostile that they have more goods, so that he knows how long to continue his complaint about T's needs.

As soon as all the available goods have been piled up, they are given to the guests, who are witnesses of the validation of the name and seat in the house. Theoretically, the value of the presents received by each is not affected by the rank of the recipient. X decides whether or not each guest shall receive a present of like value, or whether men shall receive more than women. Owing to the difficulty of accurate estimation of the amount required, there is often a residue, which is given away to the more important chiefs. These goods are strictly not returnable. They are spoken of as having "become nothing," with reference to the name and seat in question.

Exactly the same procedure is carried out for every young person whom X wishes to start or to validate in his seat. Parents take advantage of a potlatch to "strengthen" their children in this way, and X never refuses a request for participation. It is always announced whence have come the goods for distribution, so that X receives no direct increase of fame, if they have been provided solely by the relatives of the youth, but, indirectly, his prestige is increased through the transaction having taken place at his potlatch.

It is at this time too that other names are validated. There will be usually a number of infants whose parents wish them to receive their first child names, such as are incorporated in the family myths. Likewise, men may be confirmed in their occupations, as warriors, singers, or other professions in which

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[illegible] 203 554

As with so many elements of culture, the Bella Coola ascribe the origin of heralds to the will of *Nusqumiw* as expressed to the first people in the beginning of time. Some groups of these early settlers brought with them heralds whose names had been created by the supreme deity himself in his house in the land above. Such a one was *Nūqa'il* who was a member of *Komoa'a*'s (5, p. 216) party at Kimsquit, another was *Nūqūmaē* who came with *Lōqūaēlā* (5, p. 214). These heralds functioned in the manner of their descendants of today, others of the first chiefs appointed certain of their relatives to perform this service, and by means of the power with which they were endowed, created names with respect to their functions. Besides his ordinary name every herald must have an ancestral appellation of some kind, as well as the probability of possessing *hesiut* ones in addition to those of a professional nature. Either by bringing with them from above, or by creation on this earth, each group of first settlers became provided with a herald, whose name is embodied in the ancestral myth describing their experiences. As each of the first heralds died, his name was passed to a successor, and this practice has been carried out from generation to generation until the present. The Bella Coola state that no new names for heralds have been created since the time of the first people, and it is certain that none has been made for many years. Consequently, the number of heralds is strictly limited in accordance with mythological beliefs, and every man who owns one of the ancient designations embodied in an origin myth knows the name of the herald associated with his first namesake. [428]

At the death of a herald his name becomes dormant. Since heralds function at all ceremonies, whether or not the dance belongs to the same ancestral family as themselves, the members of the group sustaining the loss are not deprived of their 203 553 556 614 424

services. Were the box, one of their prized prerogatives, the visible embodiment of an element in their ancestral myth, is no longer present. In such circumstances, no member of an ancestral family would give a potlatch unless able to revive at it the dormant name in a new herald. The intending donor usually consults with the senior members of the ancestral family as to a suitable incumbent, or especially if he is an influential chief, he may simply use his own discretion. In either case, some relatively young member of the ancestral family is offered the post. If he accepts, the matter is settled; if not, another is invited in his stead. The new herald cannot function until his name and appointment have been validated by the distribution of presents at the potlatch. Such gifts are not returnable, since they are held to "have become nothing" for the name. Relatively lavish expenditure for this purpose is one of the many ways in which a chief is able to show his prowess and generosity. Thus established, a herald can carry out his duties thenceforth. He functions at every ceremonial, but especially at potlatches given by members of his own ancestral family, in whose origin myth his own name is embodied. From constant participation in all kinds of ceremonials, a herald becomes conversant with every type, and is appealed to as arbiter in difficult points of ritual, thus adding to his reputation.

Although acceptance of the post of herald somewhat curtails a man's activities in other respects, instances are known of energetic men using the gifts received to establish themselves as chiefs, passing on their herald names at the same time to other incumbents. More often, a herald uses his wealth for the benefit of a son or other relative, being satisfied with his own status in the community. He takes a prominent part in every ceremony and is a person of some standing, yet is spared the responsibility of actually giving rites himself, a position which offers many attractions to a man lacking great ambition and initiative.

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as possible, a potlatch is the most suitable occasion. Goods distributed for this purpose are not returnable; they have "become nothing" to the acquisition. The value of presents so bestowed differs enormously; a man who is proud of his prerogative validates it lavishly until he is strong in his vocation, whereas another establishes himself on a lesser scale. The origin of professional rights, like so many of other kinds, is lost in antiquity and ascribed to the wishes of *Alquntäm* as expressed to the first people. Some of the early settlers came to earth with definite duties and vocations, each indicated by a special name; others, lacking these, created them through their own enormous power. At the death of one of these incumbents, his name passed to one of his relatives who acted in the same manner as his predecessor after duly validating the name in question. Ever since that time, the owner of a confirmed professional name has been able to perform the functions of the prerogative. This is never a man's sole designation, but merely an addition to those of ancestral, *burial*, *moose*, and other types. Like them, professional names are usually willed by their owners, though if this is neglected, one can be revived by any member of the deceased's ancestral family. In such a case, the older people usually decide on a suitable incumbent and suggest the matter to him; if he does not accept, the opportunity is given to another. If a member of the group is eager to validate the name, it is unlikely that anyone would try to forestall him. Ability in certain respects can also be obtained by magical means (I, p. 701), and a member of the ancestral family so endowed is the natural choice for the prerogative in question.

Prerogatives of this kind can be grouped according to the types of vocation included.

THE PROFESSION OF RIVER GUARDIAN

In the beginning of time, *Alquntäm* is said to have sent down with *Xnil*, who landed on the mountain behind *Xmqo·ts*,

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his relatives. This punishment is customary in cases of the upsetting of a canoe. Death is the penalty for throwing refuse into the river, particularly during the summer, and until the coming of the white man the River Guardian exacted it without hesitation.

THE PREROGATIVE OF UTTERING A TRUMPETING CRY

At the appearance of masked figures representing supernatural beings, whether in *nusuit* or *haxsiut* dances, many of the women repeatedly utter a peculiar, high-pitched, droning cry which adds considerably to the weirdness and impressiveness of the occasion. Ability to do this depends on an ancestral prerogative duly confirmed by the distribution of presents. Many ancestral myths describe how some of the first women were given by *Alpoxnäw*, or acquired in other ways, the right to drone, and mention is made of the name used by each with respect to this prerogative. Unlike the one previously described, many of the first women possessed this privilege, which is accordingly common at the present time. A name of this type is usually conferred in girlhood, sometimes even in infancy, and being of relatively slight importance may be validated at a ceremony of less dignity than a potlatch. One of these names is *Nuxaqumlelaiqax-a*, which has reference to the blue-green sheen of some abalone-shell brought from the east by Raven in the beginning of time, as described in the ancestral myth in which this name is included. For many years there has been considerable laxity with regard to this prerogative, and women lacking it have even been urged to drone in order to add to the solemnity of the occasion and to increase the wonder of the uninitiated.

There is another similar prerogative, enabling the incumbent to drone at mourning ceremonies. In the beginning of time, *Smaoax* of Kimsquit married *Tlätsmitl*, the daughter of a Bella Bella chief, who had this right. It has since been transmitted from one of her descendants to another at Kimsquit.

than that of anyone else. The Bella Coola do not rationalize in a scientific manner; if a man holds a belief firmly, he acts on it without questioning its logic. Moreover, if a professional warrior functions a number of times, this in itself is enough to strengthen his conviction that he must act henceforth in the same way. It can be said with confidence that the owner of a professional prerogative has considerable belief in his own powers, that this acts on himself to render him proficient, and that the majority of the community have respect for his capabilities.

THE PROFESSION OF SINGER

Singing is one of the professions open to a Bella Coola either through natural ability or an ancestral prerogative. There is a constant need for men able to sing and compose songs for every kind of ceremonial, so a young man of talent has little difficulty in gaining admittance to the choir. He may even win great distinction and become recognized as the leading authority on musical matters. None the less, his success is considered to be accidental and unsubstantial, lacking the foundation that comes from the possession of a duly validated professional prerogative. A person made a singer by the latter means may be entirely unable to compose; in this case he is not a member of the choir, although he enjoys the social distinction which he has won by distributing goods to confirm his professional name. The singer most respected is he who combines with natural ability a confirmed prerogative to give substance and power to his position and compositions. At the death of such an one, an effort is always made by the members of his ancestral family to transmit the name to a youth who has shown musical promise. Arguments and differences of opinion are common among the members of the choir and in such cases the self-assurance and influence of a man whose position has been made strong by the distribution of presents often outweighs that of one who can rely only on his actual ability.

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So with singers, there are many carpenters who ply their trade without the advantage of an ancestral prerogative. They, also, may be expert and receive credit for their skill, but they can never achieve quite the distinction that comes to a man who has been made a carpenter by the distribution of prerogative. The latter may be so clumsy with tools that no one would ever trust him to make a canoe, or even a mask; but he is, socially, a carpenter, whereas a skilled artisan lacking a prerogative is admired for his ability but has no foundation of social esteem. In transmitting a professional carpenter's name, however, an [553] effort is always made to give it to a youth with a bent in that direction.

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The most esteemed carpenters are those who can make canoes, a trade which requires no special prerogative. In the beginning of time, *Yaláimwut* was the canoe-maker *par excellence*; he assisted many of the first people, and no one can have a professional prerogative as carpenter unless this supernatural being appears in his ancestral myth. The Bella Coola ascribe [529] the skill of the Bella Bella in carpentry to the fact that *Yaláimwut* married a Bella Bella woman in the early period of the world and that many of that tribe are his descendants. In the old days, before the coming of the white man, carpenters were [554] always respected as esteemed members of the community. Chiefs always cared for them, and they received abundant food at every ceremonial. None the less, they were not wealthy, and only in recent years, since the Bella Coola have realized [777] the value put upon good craftsmanship by the white man, has it become customary to give valuable presents to carpenters. Ceremonially, they have considerable influence, since the carpenter who makes a mask usually decides who shall wear it and [532] takes charge of the fitting and adjustment. He is also held responsible for any accident such as its falling when in use or for mechanical defects.

cies, ceremonies. This can be described here, since, although not closely associated with the potlatch, it serves to teach children the principles of property-giving and inheritance. February is the proper month for ceremonies, although preliminary arrangements are made early in the winter. A chief who has a son or daughter about ten or twelve years of age may decide to use some of his food, and a small part of his wealth, for the benefit of the child. With the assistance of his relatives, the father begins making large numbers of toy canoes, miniature bows and arrows, small baskets, and models of all other types of articles commonly given away as potlatches. The manufacture of these requires several months, but towards the end of January they are nearly ready.

A name must then be chosen for the child. Since a ceremony-dance is a humorous, non-sacred affair, a ceremony name is not embedded in a myth, but is drawn from some story. Occasionally, parents decide on a new one, but more often the designation selected is one used for the same purpose by a grandparent of the child. There is no rivalry with regard to names of this type, and one of them can be re-used without asking consent of the last incumbent, although permission would never be refused. There must be a song with each name and the grandparents and other elderly relatives teach this to a number of boys who are to act as singers. The words may have been remembered from a previous occasion; if not, a simple theme is composed by one of the old people having some reference to the name about to be conferred. For example, one appellation of this type is *Tepiwar*, Fawn, and the accompanying words are:

"We hear that Deer has borne a child."

Another name is *Kpâw*, Beaver, and the song: "Be of good cheer, the Beaver is coming."

A third song is, "Go outside under the house like a dog."

Occasionally a small incident in an ancestral myth is used. The teaching of the song to the juvenile singers is a source of constant merriment; the parents and grandparents are the

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852 principal instructors, aided by the professional musicians.
867 Boys are always willing to act as singers for the practice they
[533] receive, and the gifts they will acquire. Other lads are chosen to act as heralds, an effort being made in each case to pick those likely to pursue these professions.

[196] The day finally selected for the ceremony is in February, on a date when nothing of importance is taking place. The juvenile heralds summon the child guests, who have been invited in accordance with the rules governing a potlatch, especial care being taken to omit none to whom the child donor is indebted. His father carefully instructs him in this matter, thus impressing on his son's mind one of the fundamental points of Bella Coola life. In the late afternoon, when all have
[535] assembled, the boy singers beat out the donor's song and he dances to it. It may be in the nature of a *nusuk*, *a'alk*, or *kusiut* dance, according to the wishes of his parents. In many cases, one of the grandparents or some other old relative likewise dances to the song, using whatever style he chooses. There is no ceremonial significance to the ceremony and all enjoy themselves immensely, especially the adult guests. After
[553] the dancing, the new name is announced and presents are given to the guests. The father of the young donor carefully instructs him as to the scale of his gifts, emphasizing the necessity of rewarding the singers and heralds, and of repaying with interest those children from whom he has received favours. In this way, the ceremony serves as a practical example of how to conduct a potlatch. The parents of the donor always provide some tasty food for the occasion, and this is distributed after
[554] the gifts have been handed round. The necessity for food and presents makes it impossible for any but the children of chiefs to enjoy this training.

After the ceremony, the children parade up and down the sidewalk in front of the houses, singing boisterously. The performance has been for their benefit and they wish to "show off." One night completes the affair, but the following afternoon another child may summon his comrades to a similar

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than the presents just given by X's relatives, though occasionally they may exceed them. Y's father, or a herald, or an eloquent friend on his behalf, speaks to the following effect: 583 584

"Be bold. Henceforth you will have to work a very long time for us. We will let you know when we need your services."

The significance of this speech lies in the fact that X, and to a certain extent his relatives, are expected to perform almost menial tasks for Y's father during the period of engagement, which has now been duly ratified. X's father and his followers now leave Y's house. It is immaterial whether or not X and Y themselves have been present. It is important that this formal acknowledgment of the engagement should take place during the day; otherwise any children resulting from the marriage could be shamed by having it said to them: "Your parents were not married in the open light of day." [858]

For a varying length of time X now acts almost as a servant to Y's father. He does not live with her family, but he cuts wood, draws water, and performs other menial tasks. Whenever a member of X's family gives a ceremony, he takes care to give lavish presents to Y's relatives. If it is impossible to hold a sacred rite, X's father is at least expected to invite Y's family to a ceremonial feast, and also to share with them any game that he may kill. Meanwhile, X and Y are not subject to any restrictions as to seeing each other. In theory if they should cohabit it would "spoil" the engagement, but in most cases when this occurs, as it often does, the matter is simply hushed up. [836]

Children whose parents were long engaged are said to be "heavy"; their entry into life having been prepared with careful thought and due ceremony, so that their limbs are clear to travel with success to the position of chief. When such a child is born, the relatives are eager to call their fellow-villagers to confer a name soon after birth, and the infant starts life with this advantage. There is no specific length of time for engagements; if X and Y are the children of influential chiefs, the 584 [858] [553]

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584 preliminary agreement may have been made while they were only seven or eight years old, though marriage seldom occurs before the age of seventeen or eighteen. More often the agreement is made when X and Y have passed the age of puberty, and they wait for about two years before marrying.

583 425 533 [584] Throughout this period, X's relatives are expected to give at least one feast at which Y's relatives are the guests of honour, and always receive presents. At one of these rites X's father, with the concurrence of his relatives, may mark his approval of the coming event by bestowing on Y's father, or one of her other relations, an ancestral name from his family myth. This does not become the absolute property of Y's family, since the myth in which it is embodied does not belong to them, unless, of course, they are members of the same ancestral family. It is fitting that a name of this kind be bestowed by the recipient on one of Y's children, or returned to X's family a few generations later by a return marriage. If this is not done, in course of time the designation is apt to be regarded by Y's family as their own. If there are no children, Y's relatives should give back the name to X's [627] family, but there are many instances of feuds caused by failure [773] to do so. According to mythology, prerogatives may sometimes be given outright, without thought of their use by the resultant children, or of their being restored by return marriages. It is claimed that the people of the Kimsquit River [648] have, through such a present, the inalienable title to use a certain spot in the Kitlobe River for their oolachen nets, and likewise the Kitlobe people have an irrevocable right to the Kimsquit name *Stálkmy*. These two prerogatives were transferred at the beginning of time. At present, anyone bestowing outright his family prerogatives would be considered weak-minded and the other members of the ancestral family would [578] strenuously object. Considerations of this sort make it desirable to seek a wife within the ranks of the ancestral family.

During the period of engagement, Y's family may present a name, or names, to X's father, with the same conditions as those just described.

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ancestry. He may wish to give X one of his ancestral names on this occasion, and if so, an eloquent speaker outlines the myth in which it is embodied, and announces that henceforth it belongs to X. He is called by it for the rest of the ceremony. Occasionally, X will receive several names, perhaps from different myths belonging to the different ancestral families of which Y is a member; or her father may grant X the especial use of some hunting-ground, although with the marriage he naturally has the right to use all belonging to his bride's ancestral family. *Sisaok* rarely, and *kuxiut* prerogatives more commonly, may likewise be transmitted at this time, though they are never expounded, since some who are not members of these two societies may be present. X's father may likewise use his *xe-tia* song and follow it by giving an ancient name to Y; if so, the procedure is the same as that just described.

Names transferred by marriage may be given when the engagement is announced, at the actual wedding or, as will be explained later, when the wife is rebought from her husband. A transference from the family of X to the family of Y is made only as a mark of respect and friendly feelings, but a transference in the opposite direction is necessary to establish the children on a firm footing. Accordingly, it is often delayed until after their birth, at a time when Y rebuys herself from her husband. A name bestowed at the wedding itself becomes the legal property of the recipient, but not of his ancestral family, since it cannot be passed on except to a child of X and Y. If there are no children, it is felt that the name has become practically dormant and it can be revived by a member of the donor's ancestral family. Thus it is virtually held in readiness for X's and Y's children, though literally this is not the case, since it belongs, meanwhile, to some individual. A sentiment that enters into a transaction of this kind is that, by the presentation of a name to some member of the family of the other partner, a kindly disposition is shown and confidence that it will be duly honoured by bestowal on the children of the couple. Indeed, some parents do no more than promise that

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585 553 425 if a grandchild be born they will give him a certain name if a boy, and another if a girl, so that henceforth no one can take that title for himself, even though it is not in use. As already mentioned, even when a name has duly passed to one of the children, it can be recalled in future generations by a return marriage. The transmission of names, or the promising of them for children yet unborn, is perhaps the most binding feature of the whole marriage rite. Mythology contains instances in which names, and other prerogatives, have been given away outright. Cases are cited by the Bella Coola where a father has given hunting-grounds as "food" for the use of the relatives of his son- or daughter-in-law, but it is usual merely to promise the use of them to the grandchildren.

581 553 578 425 Since the transference of names, or other prerogatives, is the foundation stone of Bella Coola marriages, it is necessary to digress still further in an attempt to analyse the concepts at the base of the transaction. If the contracting parties are members of different ancestral families, or even of different branches of the same family, there is a feeling of strain and unpleasantness at the intimate relations into which they are brought. There is a conflict of desires. On one hand is the wish to keep the family prerogatives from going afield; on the other, a wish that they should go afield to show the respect felt for the bride or bridegroom. If children result, the matter is simple, since they are equally members of the ancestral families of mother and father and form a bond which draws the two social units into the closest community of interest. Return marriages will then be sought by successive generations, until the prerogatives of the two families become so closely interwoven that a child will, indeed, be born into the ranks of related ancestors from both parents. But when there are no children the matter is complicated, since the recipients of names not uncommonly try to keep them unjustly. They may do so with the best intentions, feeling that it would be a slight to the donors to give them back. Bella Coola etiquette is not sufficiently exact to stipulate what should be done. If the

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name is not returned, the donors may be offended at its being kept; if it is returned, they may be offended that it has not been kept.

The following examples will help to explain this rather complex point.

About 1900 the sister of a man who was middle-aged in 1922 was married to a Bella Coola to whom she was not related. At the wedding, her father being dead, her brother expounded one of the family's origin myths, and she took her husband a name from it. It was said to have been "hauled across," the word used being the same as that signifying the dragging of a heavy timber, suggesting, of course, the importance and dignity of the designation in question. On two later occasions the woman's family gave valuable presents to the man's, thus doing their part to cement the *qulux*, the strength which comes to both families by an interchange of presents marking the dignity of marriage, in fact, its basic principle. Unfortunately, there were no children. If the husband had wished to retain these names for his family, he should have arranged a further marriage between one of his own relatives and one of his wife's, to return the value of gifts he had received. He did not do so, and thus lost all legal claim to the designations in question. None the less, he was indignant when his wife's brother duly validated one of these names for himself at a potlatch, as if it had been dormant.

The accompanying diagram-pedigree shows another instance of the same kind. *Imanus*'s daughter, *Iwalkinis*, was married to *Nisiusmisis*, and at the wedding her father promised his name for any offspring. No children were born, but *Nisiusmisis* illegally used the designation, *Imanus*, for King George, his son by another wife. This naturally incensed the relatives of the first *Imanus*, especially as the debt could not be adjusted by the marriage of one of *Nisiusmisis*'s daughters to one of their family, since there were no daughters. To make matters worse, King George passed the name to his son, Jack King George, and again there were no daughters to readjust the debt. Finally, Jack King George married *Qualal*, a relative of the first *Imanus*, without the usual lengthy period of engagement, and while she was still concealed for the year that follows puberty. No children resulted, by which part of the debt could have been repaid. Thus, not only did Jack King George violate the customary ideas of decency, but in the course of three generations two women were obtained from the *Imanus* family without any recompense. Bitter feelings arose, and a few years ago one of the descendants of the first *Imanus* took the name for himself at a potlatch as if it had been dormant, thus arousing the ire of Jack King George. In 1913

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two of his female relatives were murdered at Kimsquit. The slayer was never detected, but most of the Bella Coola believe that it was done by one of *Smaoas*'s relatives, and that the dispute about names was quite sufficient to furnish an excuse for the deed.

It is hoped that these two instances will serve to emphasize why the Bella Coola prefer marriages within the ranks of the ancestral family. When this takes place, names are usually given outright, and not merely promised for the use of the future children.

Smaoas = ♀
|
Nuitsamlaix = *Snukanâlt* = another woman
|
King George = ♀
|
Jack King George = *Qwakul*

After this digression, to return to the marriage of X and Y: The ceremony is taking place in the house of Y's father, and the parents of each participant have expounded parts of their origin myths, and promised names for the resultant children.

Then Y's relatives give numerous presents to X's family, in each case including those who are associating themselves with the contract. Canoes, slaves, blankets, and other articles of great worth are given; they are said to be "bed covering" for Y. The greater their value, the greater her prestige. Her father asks a fluent chief to address the assemblage, speaking as though he were Y. He says in effect:

"My father, my mother, my brothers, my uncles, and their associates have given me my bed covering."

These presents are the binding feature of the wedding. They are said to lock the girl in her husband's house, and accordingly are sometimes called, "rope fastenings." This is only done when a woman is married for the first time.

Another orator now holds forth on behalf of Y's father:

"What we do today is no small matter. We have done today what was done in former times, and what shall be done in the future."

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old man came back to Bella Coola with his son, a man about twenty-five years of age. During his absence all his relatives had died, and he was forgotten. He went to the house of a man with whom his ancestors had intermarried generations ago, explained who he was, and was welcomed. The old man and his son have since lived there, although it is doubtful if the owner of the house had ever heard of their existence, and the son cannot even speak the Bella Coola language.

X and Y themselves are not entirely overlooked in the exchange of presents between their two families. If Y's father is well pleased with his son-in-law he may show this not only publicly, which redounds to his own credit, but by the communication of secret lore such as a special number of nights for ceremonial chastity. Conversely, if Y should not be a *kusiut*, her father-in-law often asks her father's permission to make her a member of that society. The woman's father is naturally pleased and makes no objections; so she is initiated, using a name and prerogative embodied in her husband's family. Commonly too, they give her one of their ancestral names at any convenient ceremony later than the wedding. In conformity with the rules already explained, if Y should die childless the names return to X's relatives, but if there are children they pass to them. It is said that *tsaok* names can never be transferred in this manner.

Y's father and other relatives continue to take an interest in her ceremonial welfare and in her personal comfort. If X beats or otherwise abuses her, they expostulate; and if his cruelty becomes unbearable they shelter their daughter when she runs away from her husband. If X should murder Y, she would be revenged by her family. Only one instance of this was known, when the murderer avoided his pursuers by fleeing from the country. As a rule a wife is fairly well treated, though this depends on the character of the husband, the importance of her relatives, and the amount of goods expended to validate the marriage. Among slaves and persons of no influence, it is assumed that a husband may sell his wife as a

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sents given by X's relatives up to the time of the wedding have exceeded in value those which they have received. Later, whenever, and as often as X gives a potlatch, Y's relatives are expected to rebuy her from her husband. Although this is the expression used by the Bella Coola, it has only a ceremonial significance, since Y remains X's wife. 556 583

Whenever X intimates that he is going to give a potlatch, Y and her relatives begin to hoard goods irrespective of whether or not children have been born. Their value is unregulated by custom, although the individuals concerned always try to give as much as they can; usually X does not know exactly how much will be provided until their actual delivery. Moreover, this is the occasion most preferred by the relatives of a wife to present to her husband ancestral names or other prerogatives embodied in origin myths. The exact rights of X with respect to such gifts have already been defined so need not be repeated here. Even if Y has taken an ancient name to her husband when she was married, she may bring him another when repurchased. This is an event of even greater importance to a woman than marriage, so no effort is spared to add to the dignity of the occasion.

On the second night of a potlatch Y's father announces what prerogatives he proposes to grant to X. These may include the right to a certain totem-pole design, the carving of a spoon, a painting for the wall of the house, or any other element embodied in the origin myth. These privileges are displayed by X at the coming potlatch. If, as is usual, Y's father wishes to give his son-in-law an ancestral name, it is announced on this occasion, and is the designation by which X is known during the ceremony. It is always said that such a name is so "heavy," in the sense of "so important" that it must be "dragged across" to her husband by Y. *Kusiut* names are commonly transferred as presents, but without any public bestowal, and one or two instances are known of the similar acquisition of *sisaok* prerogatives and whistles; it was in this way that *Potlas* was able to import *sisaok* ritual from Bella Bella. After announcing the 425 556 583 [553]

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(5) They govern Y's status in this world. When women quarrel, as they often do, the most common boast to shame a less wealthy rival is a reminder of the number of times the speaker was repurchased and the value of the goods used. 556 583 [578]

"I can sit down on fifteen canoes," or "I am carried by five slaves," says the angry woman, mentioning whatever goods were used for her repurchase.

(6) Finally, these goods serve a more definite purpose in obtaining for Y a name, or names, of which the value is directly proportionate to the expenditure, precisely as the importance of a chief's designation depends on the goods used to validate it. [553]

As with men's names, some women's appellations were given by *Älquntäm* to the first arrivals; others were created on this earth with regard to peculiar events, and still others are names which can be used either by men or women. Theoretically, the dignity of the first type of name is greater than either of the others, but in practice the importance of the owner depends on the number of times she has bought herself from her husband; the principles governing the rank of women are thus the same as those already described for men. The term *yutsak*, applied to a woman who has many times rebought herself and so reached a position of eminence, is the feminine equivalent to *stälhumy*. The creation of women's names in reference to personal characteristics or incidents connected with their married life is more common than similar creations for men. The ritual of the bestowal of a name on Y, here given, was omitted from the description of the potlatch in order to lessen the complexity of that ceremony. It will be remembered that on the afternoon of the second day of the potlatch Y's relatives appear outside X's house, carrying valuable presents. 551 556 583 [554] [562] 553 556 583

The announcer calls out that Y's father has come to give "food" to X and his relatives. By food, presents are meant, which are the return, with interest, of the gifts given by X's relatives on various occasions. The giver is announced, for other relatives than Y's father contribute, and to whom the

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553 556 583 present is made. The recipient may either be X himself or one of his relatives who has conferred a gift on one of Y's family. The goods are taken inside, counted, displayed, and the same announcement made. These presents are given away by X the same evening, so that the only practical advantage that he receives is that the ultimate recipients make their returns, if any, to him. He makes no recompense to Y's relatives for these.

[537] A fluent orator next speaks on behalf of Y's father to the following effect:

"Please, ye people, listen to my words. This is an important occasion, hearken to what I have to say. Long ago our first ancestors were married, as X and Y have been, and it is fitting that we should make the name ..... live again in Y. Three years [or as long as the name has been dormant] it has been dead, as if living with the ghosts beneath the earth. Now it shall stand up again in Y; henceforth we use it for her. Come forth ..... [using Y's new name], your father rebuys you from X for fifty blankets [for example]."

Y may be anywhere; the statement "come forth" is merely symbolical. The fifty blankets are piled outside the house and the spectators, of whom many have gathered to witness the transaction, know that that number of blankets has been given with reference to that name. In some cases the wife is rebought three, four, or even more times for one name, either repeatedly by her father, or successively by her father and other relatives, or several names may be acquired by the different repurchasings. For instance, at one potlatch not many years ago a woman obtained the names *Lälälkt*, *Xwulbon*, *Smaiw-a*, and *Ailtamka*. As with men, some women prefer to have one very strong name, rather than diffuse their importance over a number. In this particular case the four designations were received from different relatives. At each repurchase the call is raised:

"Come forth ..... your brother [uncle, or whatever relative it may be] rebuys you from X for ....."

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In one case where an orphan woman, without relatives, repurchased herself by her own arduous labours, the announcement was made: 553 556 583

"Y's belt has come to rebuy her."

The reference was to the manner in which she had looped up her clothing with a belt when working. If Y's father should die after amassing goods to repurchase her, they are used for the purpose intended and the announcement is:

"Y's father's anus has come to rebuy her."

The ancestral family descended from the first settlers at *Snaalx·tl* have the prerogative of singing a special song as they rebuy one of their daughters. This was used by their first ancestors on a like occasion. The theme is: [424] [533]

"I, I, I am the highest of you all. No one of you is capable of doing what I can accomplish. You all live on what I void."

The significance of this last sentence is that the village of *Snaalx·tl* is farthest up the Bella Coola River. Its inhabitants used to claim that the people of the other villages lived on the refuse which they threw into the river, a source of pride to them. [186]

After announcing the various relatives who have rebought Y, the presents are counted and carried into X's house. The statement concerning their number, who has given them, and for what purpose, is repeated to the foreign guests there assembled, and they are then piled indiscriminately in a large heap for future distribution. At this juncture X calls out:

"Come in, come in," as though he were welcoming arrivals from a distance.

Y's relatives enter, and the ritual of the potlatch continues in the manner already described. The origin myth in which Y's new name is embodied is related in considerable detail, especially its recent history, that is, by whom it was last used and any pertinent items connected with its transmission. If she has received several names from different myths, each is similarly expounded.

As has been said, many women's names have been created 551 553

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551 with respect to their appearance or actions on this earth. As far as could be learnt, the procedure of bestowal is identical with [553] that just described. The following examples illustrate designations of this type:

Ânâbsullänämlaix, "The Resident Maker." In the beginning of time the wife of *Ťaiakwala* had twins so often that [773] the village rapidly increased in population. Accordingly she took this name for herself when she rebought herself from her husband. It was transmitted for generations in the ancestral family of *Ťaiakwala*'s descendants until lent about one hundred years ago. The recipients claimed it as their own and passed it to a certain *Omqomkilska*, recently deceased, who gave it to her brother's daughter at the time of her marriage. Since this woman's husband has not yet given a potlatch the name is accordingly in a degraded condition at the present time (1923).

551 578 606 *Olliyaiyə*, "I Am the Worthless One." The mother-in-law of this woman had been in the habit of insulting her daughter-in-law by saying, even when strangers were present:

"We have a worthless daughter-in-law."

On rebuying herself the woman advertised the rudeness of her husband's mother by throwing her words back in her teeth.

Nulalulaks, "I Am the One Whose Eyes Are Hungry." The mother-in-law of this woman used to eat without offering food to her son's wife.

Nukokwixodjäx, "The One Whose Haunches Are Dusty." Her mother-in-law did not give her a place to sit in the house so that she was forced to stay close to the fire in the ashes.

Kwiläxlaix, "The One Who Sits Where There Is No Space." Her mother-in-law objected to this woman sitting near her husband when he took his ceremonial seat, and insulted her with the above remark.

551 578 *Nunuaox'as*, "The Stingy One." It was said that this woman restrained her husband's generosity until he gained an unpleasant reputation for parsimony. She publicly shamed

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her husband's critics by taking this name for herself when she rebought herself from him. 551 578

Nu'aos, "The Inhospitable One." Her husband received this reputation owing to his wife's manners, so she advertised what had been said about him.

Nuphätdsikän, "Heedlessly Deaf." This woman's mother-in-law claimed that she deliberately failed to hear what she was told to do, and applied the above epithet to her. The daughter-in-law confounded her by taking it as her own name. [606]

When a name of this type is assumed it is always announced when, where, and for what purpose it was first created. 553

A description has already been given of the actual ritual by which X bestows the goods acquired from the repurchase of Y, but it is necessary to enlarge on the prohibition against their use for the direct benefit of one of the children of the couple. The theory is that the goods bind the marriage contract and express in a practical and lofty form the kindly sentiments with which Y's relatives regard her husband, and the bond between the two families, hence they must be used solely for the benefit of him and his relatives. A man usually applies these goods to initiate the children of his brothers or sisters into the ranks of the *ssaok* or *kusiut*. It is unthinkable for goods to be delivered without an exposition of Y's family's glories, but if this should ever take place, there would be no difficulty in applying them to the direct benefit of her children. When used, for example, to make a child of X's brother a *ssaok*, he is a living testimony of the noble way in which Y's relatives have done that which is fitting for the family of her husband. Due to accidents in announcing and storing of presents, it sometimes happens that those obtained by the repurchasing of Y are used for the benefit of her own children. Unless this error is corrected, the child could always be shamed by having it said: 556 583 [558]

"You are a mere nobody. The goods expended in the

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556 repurchase of your mother have become nothing beneath your
583 feet."

When such an accident occurs, the relatives of X take some
[558] future occasion to give presents to validate his child, with the announcement:

"The goods used from the repurchase of his mother have become nothing beneath his feet. We hereby supply that deficiency."

Thus it is demonstrated that the relatives of both parents are interested in his welfare, so that his path is clear before him.

553 Many women are only repurchased once, but an effort is
556 made to do this frequently since the more times, the greater
583 her prestige. After several repurchasings it is felt that the names and other prerogatives "dragged across" by Y have become valueless. But since new names have been taken to her husband on each occasion, the marks of friendship between the two families are still plain. Then it is that those first transmitted can be revived by relatives of Y, unless, of course, X has validated them for his children. If there is only one repurchasing, the names remain the definite property of X. This is not a clearly formulated law, merely a sentiment that the earlier names have been covered by those later given, and that accordingly Y's relatives, having done what was proper, can now use the titles once more. There is a constant interchange of names and privileges between families related by marriage.

556 It is virtually impossible to over-estimate the importance
583 of this rite of repurchase among the Bella Coola, one of the
[182] few customs preserved tenaciously amid the ruins of their ancient culture. The writer was forcibly struck with the following instance which occurred while he was in Bella Coola:

About fifteen years before, a young man and woman had married with due formality. After three children had been
[586] born, the mother took to drink and vice until her husband at last repudiated her, retaining possession of the children. The woman, weakened by disease, divorced by her husband, and

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composed the tunes used; to the carpenter who had prepared and used the masked figure; to the members of the band, including a payment for their services whenever Dan Nelson's child should die; to a carpenter to erect a fence around the grave; to another to cut the representation of an eagle on a stone to be erected over the grave; to the speakers at the funeral; to the speakers at the rite then taking place; to those who delivered the money; to the youth who, with pencil and paper, assisted in keeping accounts; to the cook, and to all others who had assisted in any manner. In every case the amount was announced, the bill held up, the name of the recipient stated, the reason for his reward, and the money was then taken to him by a messenger. Captain Schooner really decided how much each should receive, he being in the best position to judge what was suitable, and there being no fixed scale of charges to help him. Work paid for in advance, such as the erection of the fence, was carefully carried out.

A little money had been kept to validate the assumption of ancestral names by several children of the Schooner family. Everyone received a small amount, a child sometimes as trifling a sum as 25 cents. Captain Schooner had virtually chosen who was to receive which designation, although he received advice from all his relatives. Harry Schooner's infant was given the name, *Pătcătcus*, a reference to the manner in which the first beams of the morning sun strike the lofty summit of Mount *Nusqalst*. Reuben's son was called *elmăls*, a *Snuile-tl* designation connected with the crash when the first *Sonx*ʷ fell. The myths in which these names were embodied were not expounded; in fact, they had been almost forgotten, even by Captain Schooner. *Tăl-ic* Jenny wished to transmit one of her names to Andy Schooner's infant; this was announced in the same way as the others and validated with them by the gifts to all. Jenny had not contributed to the common stock, but some of it was used with the understanding that she would later repay. Nebuchadnezzar announced the

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769 sum being used for each name, and the bills were displayed
*556 before messengers carried them to the recipients.

Finally, Jim Pollard took the opportunity to bestow on
553 Captain Schooner the name, *Swaxhâls*. This designation
425 was the property of the donor's ancestral family and should
[614] not have been transmitted without the consent of all its mem-
[622] bers. Jim had probably informed several of them of his intention, but no objections would have been raised if he had overlooked this courtesy, since he is the only *wamitl* chief among them, and the only one with determination and prestige. It was not an outright gift, since it was announced that it must be returned to the donor's family on Captain Schooner's death. Jim Pollard acted as his own announcer for this transaction, explaining that he gave the name in gratitude for the help which Captain Schooner had rendered at the death of his, Jim's, father about twenty years before. He promised that at the earliest opportunity he would give presents to validate the transmission.

769 During the lengthy distribution of money, the audience had
*556 shown unmistakable signs of weariness. It was now between 2.00 and 3.00 A.M., and as soon as Jim had finished speaking the guests dispersed quietly, though many of them gathered in groups in one another's houses to discuss what had taken place.

Captain Schooner slept late after the lengthy ceremony, but was proud and contented when interviewed about noon. He felt that what was fitting for his daughter had been performed, and was willing to take the consequences of having broken the law.

968 Little else of note occurred in connection with Jessie's funeral. Samuel King deposited near her grave a sewing-machine which his wife had used for only a short time and Captain Schooner decided to replace this with an older one belonging to his wife. He made this exchange on the afternoon of June 30, when Samuel, in company with a number of women, was burning the rest of Jessie's clothing and possessions. Captain Schooner explained his act by saying:

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"I am *Ănəlxʷndimut*," she said. "Everyone calls on me to visit the sick, and henceforth they will likewise seek you and your basin." 756* 787*

Something entered his stomach, causing it to heave violently, and he felt that the sickness had left him. He sent for the singers and repeated to them the words that *Ťlitcäplilăn·a* had chanted; these formed the text of the shaman's song which he used on future occasions. While giving them to the singers, he endeavoured to dance, but was too feeble to do more than weakly shake his hands. From that time on, *Ănəlxʷndimut* was able to cure the sick.

This last account is typical. *Ťlitcäplilăn·a* appears, inserts something into the body of the patient to cure him, sings one or more songs, gives the sufferer a name, and then vanishes. The curing power thus bestowed remains within the person benefited; it is this that enables him to heal others if *Ťlitcäplilăn·a* has so decided. In such cases, there is mention of a "basin" in the song, and the one who has just recovered will be able to treat others, especially those suffering from the same malady as himself. The reference to a basin is because such utensils are used during treatments. To the Bella Coola a shaman is one who has had such an experience and has publicly claimed it, whether or not he can cure the sick. [553] [755]

Ťlitcäplilăn·a is known by many names, in accordance with her ability to treat many diseases, and the designation she bestows depends upon the malady cured. The following are some of the names received from her by shamans. [776] [553]

Sʷsʷxʷwalxʷlaəslaix, "The Strengthener of the Breath." This name was given to a person who was cured when he found breathing very difficult. The text of his song was: [551]

"*Ťlitcäplilăn·a* gave me (the name) *Sʷsʷxʷwalxʷlaəslaix* with a small object to aid the breathing of the very sick." [533]

Tămtămslo·ptta. This has the same significance as the last. [551]

Nʷnăx·mălosaix, "The Dancer Near the Fire."

Ănəlxʷndimut, "The Dancer Who Makes Noise Only with

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Ninitsamlaix, "The Restorer." He is able to cure the sick even when at the point of death. 756*

Ānuskieknum, "The Saviour." He can rescue persons who have been injured by other supernatural beings. 776 787*

Nunutsnumikmem, "The One Who is Thought Of." Having powerful curing abilities, people think of him when ill.

Ānotābākmots, "The Open-Mouthed One." His mouth is always open to suck forth sickness.

Nustkākstāmidjut, "He Whose Basin Is in His Own Body." A person who receives the ability to cure from this being does not use the customary basin.

Sisiutl. It is said that many Rivers Inlet shamans have received their powers from this creature, which is accordingly well known to the Bella Coola in this connection, although few of their own people are said to have been benefited by it. 756* 787*

Since all animals are supernatural, it follows that any of them can cure the sick. Instances are remembered of this, in which the patient received a name differing slightly from that of his animal benefactor. Salmon, especially cohoes and early spring salmon, are extremely potent curers and many sick people have received aid from them. It is recognized that the former are uncanny since they have the ability to hide themselves in insignificant streams. One man was cured by a tree which gave him a yodel-like shaman's song, imitating the creaking and waving of its branches. More often, however, a supernatural animal merely speaks to a man without making him a shaman. [825] [533]

Two courses are open to the patient who has been cured by such a visitation. He may at once proclaim his powers, or he may say nothing about them in the hope of obtaining further revelations and further names. From a single experience he has received a certain amount of power, but the more he has, the greater this will be. If he decides not to wait, he at once calls the singers and repeats to them the words and tunes of the songs he has received. When later on he gives presents to validate his shamanistic name, it becomes publicly recognized [553] [554]

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* 756 * 787 [553] [556] that he is a shaman, and his future status depends on his success in curing those who appeal to him. If the man decides not to make use of his experience, he must not mention the name of his apparition, as to do so would not only prevent further benefits, but would cause the return of the disease from which he had been suffering. Some shamans have waited until they have received three or four separate visitations, acquiring a name at each; and a Bella Bella man was known to have had ten. Whether or not it is wise at once to display shaman's power is a matter on which there is no general agreement. On the one hand by long, and perhaps fruitless, waiting, a man postpones the social esteem which would have been his if he had at once displayed his prowess, gambling with his chances of receiving still greater gifts. While awaiting further visitations, a man may be able to make use of the power already received, although he cannot do so formally as an accredited shaman. Thus one man, who long ago was visited by a supernatural being, but has made no public claim of his apparition, [955] is able to cure stomach-ache among his own grandchildren by massaging the stomach as if to force something from it, and then puffing this something, four times, from his spread hands. Still hoping for power, he declined to say by which supernatural being he had been visited.

The following account was obtained from one of the few old Bella Coola who claim to have had shamanistic experiences. It describes what is done when the patient decides not to wait for further revelations:

When comparatively young, the informant slept one night in the forest with a companion. On awakening the following morning, they found a trail of dried blood leading to their blankets. They examined themselves and found no wound, so concluded that the blood could not be their own, and, therefore, was a mystery, over which they worried for a few days but then forgot. About a week later, the narrator of the incident dreamed that a strange creature came to him; he did not know what it was, but it terrified him. A few minutes later

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* 756 * 787 and heard her utter the name that was to be his, as a shaman, *Nitsmdimut*. He began to shake his hands as if dancing, for he was too feeble to do more, and began to sing the song. His mother at once called in the singers who listened, learning it for future use. The man is firmly convinced that if his mother had not thus called in the singers so speedily he would, after four days, have received another vision, and with it real shamanistic power. As it is, he is a shaman, since he was cured when at the point of death by *Thitsplilin a* and received a name and song from her, but he is unable himself to effect cures. As soon as the singers had departed, his mother at once began to make for him a collar formed of alternate bands of dyed, and [292] undyed, cedar-bark. This is the distinctive decoration worn constantly by a shaman for a certain period after receiving his powers, and at all times when dancing. Within a few days all the inhabitants of the village were called in and the man's [553] family distributed presents, thus validating his shamanistic [554] name. Such presents are not returnable; "they have become nothing" for the designation. Thus accredited, a shaman is in a position to start curing, if his song has contained a reference to a basin, otherwise, as in the present case, he is merely a shaman in a social sense, not professionally. There is thought to be actually within the new shaman's body, some peculiar [292] power which is too potent to allow him to mix with others. Accordingly he wears the distinctive collar, which serves as a [84] warning to menstruating women and others who are unclean to remain at a distance, and he spends much of his time alone in the forest. This continues until the next *hamat* dance season when the coming to him of a *yaw* (II, p. 6) frees him from restraint, since the one supernatural power drives out the other. If the shaman himself is unwilling to have a *yaw*, it is sufficient if one comes to a son, or other near relative.

A shaman who has been told by his supernatural visitor to use a basin instructs a carpenter to make one for him. The design depends either on the owner's wish, or on that of his benefactor if the latter has decreed specifically.

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type of dance differs from all other Bella Coola ones, since no inherited prerogative is required. Years ago such exhibitions were common, although curing shamans were rare.

The usual time for a shaman's performance is at the conclusion of the *kusiut* season, though one is sometimes held prior to that period if the would-be performer fears that the food which he has stored up for the event is likely to be frozen.

When he decides to give a dance, the shaman first summons the singers to his house and teaches them a song of his own composition. Theoretically both text and tune should have been received from his supernatural benefactor, but many performers undoubtedly employ songs used by shaman ancestors which they have chanced to remember. Another device is to describe a supernatural being seen in a dream. In some cases there is deliberate deception, but in most the performer persuades himself that he has received supernatural authorization. The texts are full of obscure allusions, a river, for example, is spoken of as swift running water. Often a man will treasure a song for years, before collecting the wealth necessary to use it publicly, with the social prestige attached. A shaman always obtains a name from his supernatural benefactor, but if a man merely uses a feat observed in a dream, this is impossible, so he adopts the designation of some deceased shaman, soon convincing himself that it was uttered by the apparition. Others will probably remember this name, hence suspicions may easily be aroused concerning the authenticity of the performance, but it is not customary to voice these. The singers repeat the song which they have just heard, and continue doing so until they have mastered it. Sometimes they compose further songs themselves for the performer. During the practising, those who are not *kusiut* are expelled from the house. A shaman is a person who has come in contact with the supernatural; hence he is akin to the members of the society who, therefore, support him during his rite.* A herald is sent out

*Theoretically, a shaman need not be a *kusiut*, but visitations usually come only to those of religious and imaginative temperaments, who are in the majority of cases already members of the society.

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* 787 843 If a woman dreams that she has caught two salmon, two small birds, or is holding two infants, the birth of twins is foretold. This type of explanation is obvious; in fact, these examples lie on the border-line between direct and symbolic interpretations.

* 787 843 775 Another indication of approaching pregnancy is for a woman to dream of a dead relative; this means that the latter will soon be re-born. An elderly Kimsquit man mentioned that some fifty years earlier his mother dreamt that her dead mother came to her, saying that she was lonesome and wished to return. Soon afterwards she conceived, and the daughter born was considered to be the reincarnation of her own grandmother whose names she was promptly given. At the present time, this informant addresses his sister as sister, though he states that as a child he was taught to call her grandmother. As already mentioned, if a new-born infant is a reincarnation, the fact can often be recognized by holes or dimples in the ears, relics of previous borings for rings. Unless such a birth has been foretold in a dream, it is impossible to learn whom the child re-embodies.

* 787 [761] A dream of frequent occurrence in Bella Coola is the return of the sleeper to the scenes and activities of his childhood. This always signifies a long life. Strangely enough, to dream of being nailed in one's coffin and carried to the grave is translated conversely, and likewise indicates a long life. It is remembered that there were many dreams of fire before the outbreak of the smallpox epidemic, so it has since been assumed that such presage an outbreak of this disease.

* 787 224 [785] The only dreams of which the interpretations are wholly symbolic are those experienced by hunters. The Bella Coola explain this by saying that hunters always observe ceremonial chastity and their spirits are, therefore, in a receptive condition to supernatural impressions. When a man has set his traps, he is able to tell from his dreams whether or not any animals have been caught:

To dream that a canoe has been upset in the river and that

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*575 [424] [776] *Aut'likwolxaix*. They may be termed marshals of the society. Each must have an ancestral prerogative for this, duly validated by presents to the *kukuxiut*, in addition to a *kuxiut* prerogative of some kind. In each village there are four or five of these men. Whenever food is being served at a *kuxiut* dance, the marshals receive theirs first and then one or other of them addresses the audience in slow and impressive style, beating on the floor with a stick to add emphasis to his words. He admonishes his fellows to safeguard the ancient rites of the society, to be bold, to be secretive, and he pays honour to the member who has given the dance. It is they who take the leading part if a youth is dragged away to the meeting-place for initiation, and it is they who arrange matters when a spy reports that a non-member is over-inquisitive. *575 688 If any member of the society should break one of its laws at a time when no uninitiated are present, the marshal is expected to seize a burning stick from the fire and strike the offender with it. If death should result, revenge is unthinkable, since the criminal had broken the law. The same fate is unhesitatingly meted out to any *kuxiut* who should dare to betray any of the mysteries to the uninitiated. Moreover, it is the marshals who decide whether any improper act lowers the dignity of a dance, and punish accordingly. Not many years ago a *kuxiut* woman gave birth to a child while a dance was taking place and the infant was slain by one of the marshals. [961] The usual explanation made to the uninitiated for a death within the dance-house is that a supernatural being caused the roof to fall and kill the victim.

4 575 551 [424] Each marshal has, in connection with his prerogative of this vocation, a professional name, used only within the house where a *kuxiut* dance is taking place and carefully concealed from the uninitiated. Some designations were obtained from *Aut'likwolxaix* by an ancestor of the possessor, others were created on this earth with reference to some specific event, and [553] duly made valid by presents to the *kukuxiut* alone. Some of these names are:

Xwulxalmis, "The Destroyer," so given on account of an

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*575 only by members of the same tribe. The Bella Coola firmly
648 believe that if, for example, there is a serious disaster at
688 *Qemqe·it*, that village will be raided by the people of Bella
721 Bella, Fort Rupert, Kitkatla, or by tribes even farther away.
[628] News of the accident reaches *Tăl·ie* or Kimsquit and the inhabitants, themselves related by blood to the offenders and therefore unwilling to punish them, call upon the members of a foreign tribe to do so. On different occasions this statement, in practically identical terms, was made by six independent informants, so there appears to be not the slightest doubt as to the belief of the people in this law. But when specific cases were asked for, they could not be obtained. It therefore appears clear that the Bella Coola, probably owing to long teaching on the part of the *kukusiut*, consider that an error in ritual is sufficient to bring punishment from an alien tribe. There must be some basis of truth in this conviction, and it is highly probable that the *kukusiut* must have taken advantage of raids to explain to the uninitiated that these were caused by disasters in ritual. One informant was of the opinion that, following the collapse of a house at Kimsquit during a Canpibal dance, a Bella Coola chief called upon *Tsohse*, chief of the Kitkatla, who raided Kimsquit in punishment. Quite apart from the belief inculcated in the uninitiated, it is obvious that tribes eager for war sometimes used an accident as pretext. The Bella Coola know of no case in which they raided a foreign tribe for this reason, although they state that if they had been called upon to act as punisher, they could not have refused.

*575 Leaving now the functions of the society as a whole, the
424 rights of an individual member can next be described. Each
425 *kusiut* has:

● 553 (1) *A Kusiut Name.* Like every other prerogative, a name of this type can be acquired from father, uncle, grandfather, or other relative, or even by a son from his mother. As a rule a *kusiut* wills his designation or designations, for a man may [556] have several, before death and his wishes are observed. Al-

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though the cost of validating such a prerogative is less than a potlatch, yet a Cannibal dance, for example, entails considerable expenditure, so a man entitled to give such a ceremony frequently lends his right to another, or it may lie dormant for generations. Like other loaned prerogatives, failure to return is a frequent cause of feud. A man frequently gives away a *kusiut* name-prerogative, and if he should give away all of them, he becomes legally an uninitiated. In such a case it is customary for his wife, or some relative, to give him a new *kusiut* prerogative, as is likewise the case when a master causes a slave to be initiated. A name is sometimes given to a person who resembles a deceased relative of the donor.

(2) *A Patron, omätuts.* Little need be said on this point. The words of the songs used by the dancer often describe his patron, always couched in mystical terms for the benefit of the uninitiated. If the supernatural associate performs any type of dance at the gathering above, so can his protégé perform on this earth, otherwise his power is limited to singing of the being. If an individual inherits prerogatives with the same patron from two different relatives, he can merge these to give a composite dance, with consequent additional power. Greedy individuals sometimes illegally add features to which they are not entitled, a cause of bitter feelings. Or one individual may own several prerogatives with different patrons. Although most *kukusiut* have only one, yet two or three are not uncommon and one case is known of a man with six distinct patrons. The uninitiated believe that from any one of these may come the call giving him the power to perform.

(3) *A Repository.* In this subterranean shelter his name remains, guarded by *Ans'likwolsaix.* An individual with several prerogatives has a repository for each.

Although the *kukusiut* are aware that much of their ritual is deception, it is clear that they believe in the supernatural origin of their rites, and that their ancestors actually had the abilities which their descendants of today imitate. In time

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[Kusiut Society Initiation]

some ashes which he puts into his mouth and chews. Of course he masticates only the ashes but X, unaware of this, is concerned for the fate of his spirit. At last it is restored to him and he is told that the *siki* has altered it from that of an uninitiated person to that of a *kusiut*.[11] The psychological effect of this act on the mind of a young man who has not had time to adjust himself to his new knowledge and who is firmly convinced of the powers of the *siki* is tremendous.

The first *siki* now instructs two *kukusiut* sitting on either side of X to lie down to serve as a seat for him. They do so, irrespective of who they may be. If the novice is still ignorant of the full mysteries of the society, the *siki* announces that he is going to get a call for X. He walks around the house, peering here and there as if seeking something, and then pounces as if he had caught an object between his hands. A whistle is heard, such as the novice knows accompanies the coming of every call; but he does not know that the noise is made by compressing a goat or bear bladder-whistle between two sticks held beneath the armpit. This is the "mystery" of the strange noises.

"Do you know what makes that noise?" ask the two *kukusiut* on whom X is sitting.

If X denies all knowledge, the mystery is explained to him, and he is warned that he will be killed if he communicates the information to uninitiated persons. If he answers that he knows the cause, he is asked who has told him. Perhaps some lad has been peeking and has told X of what he has seen; in that case the over-inquisitive youth is at once initiated to prevent further leakage of information. As soon as X has learnt the great secret he moves to one side and the singers take their positions behind the fire. His father, or whoever it may be from whom he is to obtain his name, then stands up and unfolds its origin, telling which supernatural being is his patron, and the locality of his repository. X sometimes re-

[11] This part of the rite has been omitted for so many years that many of the middle-aged *kukusiut* have forgotten it.

[kusiut Society Initiation]

X sometimes re-
ceives two prerogatives at his initiation, one from each parent, 575*
or from some other interested relative. In this case both are 796
expounded. The singers listen intently, knowing that they
will later be called upon to compose songs on the theme, or [425]
themes. According to some informants they immediately sing [553]
one, as if they had just created it, though it was really prepared [533]
in advance. The *kukusiut* listen until they have mastered it.

Helpers now distribute the food provided by X's father, 575*
or whoever is responsible for his initiation. At every *kusiut* 796
ceremonial the marshals are the first recipients, then the
singers, and finally the others without distinction. As the 556
guests are eating, X's father gives presents to all, without [264]
deference to rank. An announcer calls out:

"Here are [for example] ten bear-skins from X's mother. They are to obtain for him his cedar-bark bracelets."

These goods are then distributed. Similarly other gifts from various relatives are handed out for his anklets, his blanket, his collar, his head-dress, and all other parts of his clothing. As each item of his ceremonial costume is validated, [425]
X dons the prepared article. A novice's head-dress consists [292]
of a round roll of dyed cedar-bark, covering a grass frame; in [184]
Stuix and the other villages of the upper valley this is decorated with a tuft of swan's down. The *kukusiut* of these villages [237]
also wear a distinctive decoration consisting of a swan's skin with the feathers attached. In recent years it has been customary to pile all the goods together and distribute them as *ălq·ĭl*, which has the significance of "something that has vanished for the novice's dyed cedar-bark." Theoretically, the aim of the donor is to bestow his presents on all equally, but if he finds that he has some remaining, he gives these to the chiefs, or to the relatives of someone whom he expects will soon be a novice. None of the goods used in general distributions are returnable, but a chief who receives an extra gift at the end usually remembers from whom it was received and cancels his indebtedness at the earliest opportunity. There is no close connection between the disbursements and the worth of the

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(*b*) *Xemtsk* came down from above with *ɯyuyuyut* in the beginning of time; he had the prerogative of dancing at weddings.
(*c*) *Ẍuloiyu* likewise came down with *ɯyuyuyut*, bringing the same prerogative as *Xemtsk*.
(*d*) The rest of this song has been forgotten.

Fragmentary and short as are these songs, they are more elaborate than many used at weddings. These frequently contain no words, merely an ancient tune accompanied by humming and meaningless choral interjections.[4]

SHAMING SONGS

Songs of this type are sung by the singers while the principal performer dances; in this respect, they resemble *sɯaok* compositions and differ entirely from the abbreviated and individualistic wedding songs. Though used primarily to shame a runaway husband or wife, one is sometimes employed on other occasions.

Song Used for Nɔ̈ɬɯna(a), a Kimsquit Woman(b)

A Yɛ̈ɬakɛiẋ	*ɬ̈ɬ̈ima*	*Mɔ̈ɬɔ̈ɬɔ̈s*	*sälnɛixtɛs*	*dämnɛltcaiya'a*
Has too much	looted	*Mɔ̈ɬɔ̈ɬɔ̈s(c)*	further,	he has taken with her

tɛ̈ɬkwɔ̈ɬɔ̈ɬɛ̈ɬɯmɛl	*dämnɛltcaiya'a*
my child, *Tɛ̈ɬkwɔ̈ɬɔ̈ɬs(d)*,	he has taken with her(*e*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B Sänɛlɬɛldimɛt	*nɛwɛsɛ̈ɬɔ̈mmtsɛls*	*ikɛt-ɬ̈ɬ̈ɛnɛtsɛixtɛ*
Be brave,	mothers(*f*),	when I speak of your ugliness(*g*);

ɛlɛ̈ɬɛ̈ɬɛ̈ɬɛlɛwɛmɔp	*wɛnɛsɬɛ̈ɬɛ̈ɬɛ̈ɬɛkɛmpɛls*
you have had much trouble,	your breasts have become long and pendant.

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C The third part of this song has been forgotten.

(*a*) This word means "The one (feminine) with the very hairy pudenda." The woman in question had run away from her husband and the nickname was conferred at this shaming *ɬ̈ɬ̈ɛyɛ̈ɬɔ̈m* rite.

[4] Two examples of such wordless songs were collected. They are song VII D 2a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard, and song VII D 3a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Lame Charlie.

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[426] *ăkwekam:* Excess of amount returned over that previously received as an investment present.
Ăiamkikka: One of the nine supernatural siblings.
Ăiilăxa: 1—Supernatural beings who drone as the sun moves.
2—Voice of the supernatural woman, *Snitsmān·a*; the term is occasionally applied to the being herself. The sound is produced by *kusiut* whistles.
Ăimălotla: One of the nine supernatural siblings.
Ăimaltus: "The Coming of Foul Weather," in the language of supernatural beings: The phenomenon is semi-anthropomorphized.
Ăimā·ts: 1—Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.
2—Ancient chief from whom the village is supposedly named.
Ăiqwaiosamlaix: *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola man; the designation is of Kwakiutl origin.
[821] *Ăiǰwaiust:* Supernatural beings who blacken the face of the moon at eclipses.
Ăiitsamka: 1—One of the first women to settle at *Tāl·ĭo* in the beginning of time.
2—Daughter of an *ustāmx* chief mentioned in an ancient story.
Ăiutla: 1—One of the designations of *Kāmai·ts*, the mysterious supernatural woman.
2—Ferocious, awe-inspiring, *adjective.*
[526] *ăkatxyu:* Swing consisting of two long ropes with cross-seat.
[824] *ăkpădultsĭ:* Spruce leaves.
Ălumtci: *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola man.
ălpotnam: Lehal.
Ălkalahi: 1—One of the first men to settle at Calvert Island in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Nuxwălst* in the beginning of time.
3—One of the first men to settle at *Ăimā·ts* in the beginning of time.
ălkdjăles: Stake supporting olachen net.
[796] *ălkexpiămm:* Ritual repeated at intervals between the allotment of tasks for a potlatch, and the coming of a supernatural being to the first *nusek* initiate.
ălk", plural, wealk"ats: Herald.
Ălokamam: *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola man.
[533] *ălox:* Third part of song.
'ălox: Pleasure expedition of boys and girls to the forest.
[517] *Ălox:* Name of an isolated star.
[821] *Ălqetlos:* Supernatural man-eater, patron of Cannibals.
Ălqtălos: Stick decorated with abalone-shell used by one of the settlers in the upper Bella Coola valley in the beginning of time.
Ălkwulus: Supernatural female berry-picker resident in the land of the dead.
ălsăis: Announcer.
Ălsukwlaxa·s: Bay of the Thousand Islands near Namu.
Ălustsnaix: *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola man.
ălxotla: Cannibal.
[587] *ălxwalăm:* Marriage with sister of a deceased wife; the word is undoubtedly connected with the verb, *to bequeath.*
Ămkwis: Supernatural creature similar to a human being.
Ămla: Supernatural woman, wife of Cold Wind and mother of Ice.
Ămlălă: Bella Bella man mentioned in an ancient story.
[425] *ămt·ĭpem:* The transference of a name, during the period of engagement, from the father of the future bridegroom to the father of the future bride.
[553]
[584]

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Alalkmkimm: Supernatural being sent by *Smaien·a* to meet *Noakgmm.*

alalqo·xi, "One Who Is a Guest": The term applied to a youth whose father, a chief, will certainly give a potlatch to start him on the path to social importance though he has not yet done so. Such a lad is served ceremoniously at every feast. [556]

Ālhlxān·i: Abalone-shell covered stick used by one of the first settlers in the beginning of time.

Alhlxān·iatlliax: One of the first women to settle at *Tāl·io* in the beginning of time.

aldinxki: Word of uncertain meaning often appended to *Inxtāmem* as complete term for the first night of a *kusiut* dance. [575]

alikxlxmm, "A Dragging Across" (as one does with a heavy log): The term applied to the transmission of a name from a wife to her husband either at marriage or later, when being repurchased. [425] [553]

ālikwis: Toasted food of any kind. [262]

Alilixwumax: Ancestral name of a *Stuxt* man.

alilig': Perforated, *adjective.* [252]

alilmusnām: Those who perform to assist marriage dancers.

Ālimalwalaix: Kusiut name of a Bella Coola man.

Al·imlxaix: One of the first men to settle at *Tāl·io* in the beginning of time. [585]

alipaxtits, "Weapons of War": The term applied to the presents distributed by the groom and his relatives to the bride and hers prior to entering her house. [431]

ālipoalm: Gifts given in secret, soon after betrothal, by the father of the future groom to the father of the future bride. [584]

ālipotlām: Marshal.

Ālisman·i: Immoral supernatural woman; synonym for *Sximsximlt.*

Alixmatusaix: One of the men who came to earth at Mount *Tsnisi* in the beginning of time.

Āl·tlikoil: Totem-pole erected by the first settlers at *Stuxt* in the beginning of time.

ālkkoil: Lying position with legs close together such as is maintained for four days by an adolescent girl, and also by a widow or a widower. [516]

alq: *Sisaok* song in fast time. [533]

ālq: Rapid beating of time during which a dancer does not try to move his feet in rhythm with it. [535]

Ālt'gmān·a: Daughter of the first settlers at *Sātlia* in the beginning of time.

ālxmpus: Kusiut dancer whose disguise becomes apparent through an accident.

ālxnkla: Synonym for *Inumdjut*; one of the days of a potlatch, probably that following the appearance of a masked representation of the deceased. [556]

ālxnlla: 1—Night-time.
2—That part of a Cannibal dance when songs are prepared in the middle of the night.

ālxx: Come, *imperative singular.*

Alkexa: 1—One of *Smaoan's* sons in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first women to settle at *Nuxnulst* in the beginning of time.

alkal·ilaix: Central seat behind the fire.

alkidjalas: Hammer with handle for pounding stakes for fish-nets. [412]

Alkikamlaku: Mountain on north side of the lower Bella Coola.

alkikalnm: One who estimates the passage of time by watching the movements of the sun. [805]

Ālkw·lgumm, "The Devourer of Meat Killed by Another": Term used by hunters to Wolf. [825]

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nixobäxta: Intangible *kusiut* prerogative consisting of the insertion of some object into the digestive tract. [424]

Nixpa: Expert supernatural dancer; to his associates he is a yearling mountain goat.

nuuiq or ***nuulxämut:*** First complete dance given by a *kusiut* initiate.

nunuuk: Mammal, any kind. [825]

Nuuixwanaix: One of the names of Great Blue Heron as chief.

Noakila: 1—One of the first men to settle on the upper Dean in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Snuiali* in the beginning of time.

Noakgmm: Supernatural being who brings the salmon.

Noamtäxaik: Name given to his grandson by one of the first settlers at *Siskiut* in the beginning of time.

nolcista: *Kusiut* prerogative as a Breaker; this is said to be a Bella Bella term.

nolxäkta: Sloping stick extending from floor to roof behind the fire on which, at Kimsquit, *kusiut* masks are hung.

nomwak: The making and use of hand nets for olachen.

Nonodjaoistem: 1—"The Adviser": One of the names of the supreme god. [622]
2—Chiefs of a village, collectively; virtually, "The Sages."

no'onätlim: 1—Ceremony at which *susaak* names are validated in the eyes of the fellow-villagers. [553]
2—Any ceremony at which all kinds of dances are performed. [796]

no'ondjut: Assemblage of the *kukusiut* to practise difficult rites.

No'qwun, "The One with Thick Pubic Hair": *Tlaiyäkum* name given to a deserting wife.

Nowakila: One of the names of Raven as chief.

nowlxikultum: Sentence of death passed by the *kukusiut* on one of their fellows as punishment for an error. [688]

nuaiyaa: A loan, especially of an ancestral right. [426]

Nuälalsmm: Synonym for *Noakgmm,* the supernatural being who brings the salmon.

Nu'aas, "Inhospitable": Name taken by a woman in consequence of slights received from her husband's relatives.

nuäpsulta: Toilet-hole.

nuaska: Birth. [821]

Nuciciqas: Anthropomorphized evil cold wind.

nudak-an: Rhetorical term of respect for aged dead. [769]

nudak-an du ihmsta: 1—High tide.
2—Long life. [823]

nudjiqasta: Cross-piece tied to canoe to hold olachen-net post steady while being driven.

Nu'eqmaq, "Place of Foul Water": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.

Nuk^{w}: 1—Village at head of South Bentinck Arm, on the east side.
2—River flowing into head of South Bentinck Arm from the east.

Nuxkmälsaix: Synonym for *Sximsximlt,* an immoral supernatural woman.

nuyal: The achievement of success against supernatural odds; the term is used with reference to the solutions of the riddles of the Mystery dance.

nuktamlmxmam: Any non-sacred dance held at the conclusion of the *kusiut* season. [535]

Nukoo-as: An influential Kwakiutl chief.

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Nuxwin·ämx, "The Warrior": Name acquired by a Kimsquit man long ago.
nuxwinästa: Women's verbal quarrels about prestige.
Nuxx: 1—Barren district above Green Bay.
2—Evil, *adjective.*
Nuxpalyiq: *Tälio* bird hunter.
Nuxyemda: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Täl·io* in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Alqälaxl* in the beginning of time.
3—Ball of the universe which, when broken, released the sun. 772
Nuxyemtaläx·a: Daughter of the first settlers at *Alqälaxl* in the beginning of time.
Nuxxeq: 1—(Probably) "The Place of Barrenness": Village at Green Bay.
2—One of the first men to settle at Green Bay in the beginning of time.
nuxxi'ipsta: Repository, archaic term.
nuxxwaa·di·nutsnam: The assumption of a name upon earth. 431
nuxxwokmpalts, "Things to Sweep the Floor With": Presents given to a bride's relatives by a groom and his kinsmen on the actual day of marriage. 585
nuxxwo·ksta: Wooden dish used for washing an infant.
nuxxwülamtom: Abstinence from acts of an unclean nature after the taking of a powerful medicine. 415 785
nuisikim: The power which a shaman brings forth from his own body and casts into a patient. 756
Nuksodaxw': Name of a celebrated shaman.
Nukum: Bella Bella village and undefined area in the vicinity.
Nulxl, "Canyon": 1—Dean River.
2—Village on the lower Dean River.
nuixuxmm: Alteration of a dance from *nsaok* to *kusiut.* 825
nuiktalxits: Bone in the back of a salmon's neck.
nuiktälnumtmm, "A Drying-Up with Fire": Expression used for the ceremony held on the return of a deserting wife to her husband. 586
nuiktälumam: Goods given by a wife's relatives to her husband to validate her return to him after desertion. 431
Nultlax, "Place Where There Are No Falls": Village in the upper Bella Coola valley.
Nuthaqaq: Totem-pole of the first settlers at *Nusqalst* in the beginning of time.
nuthunxit: Parents of twins. 845
nutsaqwax: Wolf. 825
Nulxälmais: Mythical house in the sky.
Nulxagmäls: One of the names of the supreme god's house.
nutsiakem: Present, invisible to all but the owner, given by *Thitcaplilax·a* to a shaman. The word may be etymologically connected with *nuisikim.* 756
nulxiagmam: A creation of new *kusiut* names, such as is necessitated by a disaster, or at the will of a mighty chief. 553
nulxixtahm: Kusiutem rite in which the performer pretends to swallow hot stones.
nulxlexwam: 1—"A Throwing Off": Term used with reference to presents given to heralds by a person splashed in Otter dance. 431
2—Presents given by guests at a potlatch to their host and his associates.
nulxpoxa, "The Face Maker": Name given to a woman who paints upon the bandages used to produce cranial deformation in an infant. 856
Nutsqualt, "Place of Many Spawning Sockeye Salmon": Kimsquit village.
Nuwimäx: Kusiut name of a *Tsimsel* man.

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844 fessional midwives. The child is washed in warm water. For ten days
[846] the mother must remain in this hut. Father and mother must not go
[825] near the room for a year (according to Nusk'sluˈsta, for ten days), else the salmon would take offence.

● 553 The child is soon given its first name. On this occasion the whole
[852] tribe is invited to a feast, the name is made public, and the guests receive
[556] small presents. The child retains this name until it becomes a member of the Kūˈsiūt, when it is given its Kūˈsiūt name. This ceremony takes place after puberty has been reached. About this period the young man gives his first potlatch and assumes the Qēˈmtsioa name.

881 When a girl reaches puberty she must stay in the shed which serves as her bedroom, where she has a separate fireplace. She is not allowed to descend to the main part of the house, and must not sit by the fire of the family. For four days she must remain motionless in a sitting posture. She fasts during the daytime, but is allowed a little food and drink at a very early hour in the morning. After this term she may leave her room, but only through a separate opening. She must not yet
[292] come to the main room. When leaving the house she wears a large hat,
[821] which protects her face against the rays of the sun. It is believed that if the sun should shine on her face her eyes would suffer. She may pick berries on the hills, but must not come near the river or sea for
[262] a whole year. She must not eat fresh salmon, else she would lose
[261] her senses, or her mouth would be transformed into a long beak. She must not chew gum or eat snow (see Fifth Report of Committee, 1889, p. 838).

584 If a young man wishes to marry a girl he goes, surrounded by his
[431] friends, to the house of the girl's father and states his intention. His friends carry food and presents, and if the father accepts the suit he sends out a young man, who receives the food and presents and carries them into the house. Sometimes the father does not accept the offer at once. In such cases the young man may repeat the same ceremony until
[527] he is finally rejected or accepted. After the time of the marriage has been agreed upon between the contracting parties, and the day preceding the marriage has arrived, the young man invites all the people to a feast, during which he states that he is to be married on the following day. He asks a number of men, generally from twenty to thirty, and four
[302] women to assist him. On the following forenoon they assemble, and
585 accompany the bridegroom to the girl's house. They sing outside, and four of the men dance. All of them have their faces painted red. Finally they enter, and the bridegroom gives a large amount of property to the girl's father. Then the girl leaves her parents and goes to the bridegroom, bringing him also a large amount of property which has been
[431] given to her for this purpose by her parents and relatives. He in turn gives her blankets and other apparel of the best quality, and distributes presents among her relatives. This is repeated after some time. All he has given to his bride and her relatives is repaid to him with interest. A rich girl will repay twice or three times the amount given by the man. At the time of the marriage the bride's father may promise the groom to give him his SisanˈkH secrets as soon as the pair have their first child.
[851] The children may belong to the father's or mother's gens, as the parents may choose.

586 In case of a separation the wife refunds the amount of purchase-money. The children may stay with either parent, or part of them may